

Mr. Louis Jordan
Department of Special Collections
102 Hesburgh Library
University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, IN 46556

June 12, 2001

Dear Mr. Jordan:

I am embarrassed to have taken so long to write you concerning your fascinating and massive undertaking as to newly located material on the Massachusetts silver coinage. I have only perused it but it is something I intend to read carefully as soon as I can.

I am 90 and acquired an old age ailment, which sidetracked me for a while, but it is treatable and I am being treated and am much better.

I sincerely appreciate your kind remarks about my numismatic writing. It has been most enjoyable to do research and writing as a collateral disciple particularly when someone like you reviews and refines my original undertaking. I encourage sound differences of opinion but unfortunately some writing of others is combative rather than progressive.

I do not believe we have met but as long as both of us admire Phil Mossman we know we are on the same wavelength.

My sincere thanks for your courtesies.

Cordially,

Eric P. Newman

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

To: Louis Jordan

December 27, 2001

From: Eric P. Newman

I am working on a coin scale matter relating to the early use of the word "dollar" in Colonial America. Hull uses the word "dollar" in his ledger on your pp. 20, 27, and 54. You indicate it means Spanish dollar. You show Hull using the words "sterling silver dollars". I wonder if it has to be Spanish dollars or could it be English Crowns of 5 shillings. Sterling coinage usually had greater fineness than Spanish silver and didn't have to be adulterated or adjusted to meet Massachusetts standards. Dollars may mean size only. Return of English sterling to England cost money and was risky because of the voyage. When England excluded its own coin for export there was no advantage to return it. Is your logic subject to challenge as Hull knew how to measure fineness and knew from his business what fineness various Spanish pieces had. Let me know your thinking.

If you know of any other early use of the word dollar or dollars in Hull or otherwise please let me know. Also if you can make a photocopy of the portion of the Hull ledger using "sterling silver dollars." I would appreciate it.

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Dear Louis:

Ordinarily I answer letters on time so a response to your letter of over 6 months ago requires an explanation or poor excuse. The reason was that I had to make an opportunity to read your extensive extraordinary opus. It made a wonderful holiday activity and I thank you again (prior thanks were in Boston in November) for sending it. It was so stimulating that I had to make footnotes to my notes on your data and your footnotes. What an enormous amount of new findings you made on a subject which has been worked on vigorously by other competent researchers over so long a span of years. You have assembled your work in a manner which will be appreciated by those of us who worked on specialized areas as well as those who do the work themselves.

I am writing you separate letters on matters in which I am currently working and asking for your input.

There are a couple of matters which occur to me now which I suggest you modify in your text. For your own protection, your comments on early coin machinery in the Mint should not be limited to "some type of roller or rocking press" (Page 11, line 3; p.54, 55). You are sticking out your neck. It could be a drop press or a screw press as well, particularly as to the Willow Tree coinage. Noe points out in his Oak Tree monograph that the dies for the Willow Tree were circular. These dies sometimes became loose and rotated somewhat during striking. This would not be the result of a roller or rocker press. The Oak Tree coinage is sometimes elongated and has for a long time been noticed to be stretched.

As to your bibliography I suggest adding all of Noe's monographs separately and his Castine Hoard. You include these in the consolidation of Noe but the originals should also be cited. You omitted Felt probably because he was so inaccurate, but he probably should be there. You mention my Good Samaritan under Noe but perhaps it should be separately listed also.

What a wonderful numismatic contribution you have made. I would like to introduce you to Crosby and Noe but I have not found a way to do so.

Happy New Year,

Eric P. Newman

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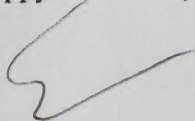
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Happy New Year,

Consolidation

Eric P. Newman

*became loose and**separately*

To: Louis Jordan

December 27, 2001

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As I told you I am working on a spelling problem which to my knowledge has never been commented upon but always has been observed. This is the use of TH instead of CH on all Massachusetts Bay coinage, from the Willow Tree onward for every denomination and on every obverse die except the Noe 11 Pine Tree where the capital H is omitted. This mistake had to be noticed by Hull and every literate person as it was continued for over 30 years just as the 1652 date was continued on every denomination except the 1662 2d. Spelling was not important if the phonetics were correct but in this instance the phonetics are incorrect. Hull uses "country" and "countrey" many times in his ledger as you point out and writes other words in different phonetic spellings. He uses "Mattachusetts" sometimes because of the error in spelling on the colony seal. Do you know of any other use besides the description of the legends on the coinage where of TH in place of CH?

He was constantly in charge of the Mint and devoted continual time to its operation so he must have been fully aware of the error and I am writing up why I think he let it continue and why it arose in the first place.

If you have any thoughts on this matter I would appreciate it.

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If you have any thoughts on this matter I would appreciate it.

Only spelling with TH I ever found

Spelling
The Uncorrected Error in
Massachusetts Bay Silver
Coinage.

*1662 2d error not
corrected either
No other misspelling found. except
Noe 11*

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April 3, 2002

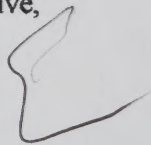
Dear Louis:

I carefully read your "excerpt" in AJN of your forthcoming book on New England silver coinage problems. You have demonstrated the confusion masterfully and in doing so brought out facts which are new and interesting. I congratulate you on the accomplishment. I am glad you show that the English knew what was going on, but politics, change in thinking and anticipation of change in thinking were ever present.

In one of my December 27, 2001 letters to you I asked you about any use of the word Massachusetts in any form of spelling written by John Hull. Did you find any such writing in the ledger? I am anxious to know so I can use it for what I am trying to write.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Thrive,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Eric P. Newman', written in a cursive style.

Eric P. Newman

P.S. I am aware of the MATTACHUSETS in the seal, etc.

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Thrive,

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April 11, 2002

Dear Eric,

Thank you for your letters from December and your recent note of April 3rd. I apologize for the delay in getting back to you. Imminent deadlines for the CNL article and the book on Hull have kept me so preoccupied that I have been neglecting my correspondence. Your suggestions and comments have been greatly appreciated. Below are a few comments on the spelling of Massachusetts and the use of the word dollar.

On the spelling of Massachusetts – In regard to Hull's unpublished writings I have focused my research on the first of the four extant volumes of the Hull ledger. The first volume contains his private accounts while volumes 2-4 contain the Commonwealth of Massachusetts accounts related to King Philip's War. In Hull's private accounts I have not been able to find a single instance where Hull used the word Massachusetts. He mentions just about every town but never seems to use the name of the colony (or as he would have said, the country). However, he does spell out the word Massachusetts in the title page to the second ledger volume. Unfortunately the page is torn with only about half of the page surviving, but the title remains intact. A photocopy of that page is enclosed. In the title Hull uses the same form as is found on the seal, namely, **Mattachusetts**. You will note a few of his letters are somewhat unusual to the modern eye, especially the letter e. Here is a transcription of the entire title:

A Journal appertaining to the Colony
Of the Mattachusetts relating to their Military
Affairs begun the 25th day of June Ano. Dom.
In which also is begun the 19th
Day of May following and intermixed the
Whole Accounts of his Government. Capt.
John Hull being first Chosen Treasurer
At War by the Hon^{ble} Council and afterward
Treasurer to sd [said] Colony by the Hon^{able} Gen^{al}
Court.

I have not discovered any other instance of the use of the word Massachusetts in the four volumes of the ledgers. You undoubtedly recall Noe (Willow Tree Coinage, pp. 33-34, photocopy enclosed) briefly discussed the use of MASATHUSETS. Noe states he asked "a distinguished authority" at the American Antiquary Society to confirm if Hull used the spelling with the TH rather than the usual CH. Hull's diary and private letters (covering 1670-80) are deposited in the Antiquarian Society in Worcester, MA (I have not been there to see them). Noe stated the authority "confirmed the reasonable deduction that this spelling is used throughout the diaries of John Hull." Diaries is used in the plural because Hull kept both a public diary and a private diary. I take Noe's

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John Hull being first chosen Treasurer
at war by the Hon^{ble} Council and afterward
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Court.

June 25th 1675

- 1 Cash Dr To Sundry accounts
- 2 James Whitcomb Lent by him to the Gov^t for
towards carrying on the war ag^t the Indian
- 2 Simon Lyns Ditto
- 3 Daniel Fob
as advan

Ditto

statement to mean Hull used TH in his spelling, although his statement is not completely clear. Unfortunately the printed edition of the Hull diaries uses modernized spellings.

My training is as a medievalist with a specialty in Latin paleography. It is well known among paleographers that as vernacular Spanish and Italian developed the sound of several Latin words changed, leading to changes in spelling. One common change was the softening of a hard T sound (especially in TI) into a softer C sound. Thus the Latin word *tertio* became *tercio* (ratio became *racion*, etc.). Therefore, in medieval manuscripts it is not unusual to find a T replaced by a C. This may not have any direct bearing on the question at hand, but it is interesting to know there are linguistic precedents for a confusion or shift between C and T.

On another topic – the use of the word “dollar” in Colonial America. You posed the interesting question if the word dollar might have been used for any large size silver coin such as the English Crown of 5s.

There is no doubt that the word “dollar” was used in connection with Spanish, Dutch and German crown size coins. As you well know, there are many instances of the use of the terms Spanish dollars, Lion dollars and Rix dollars. However, I have never seen the term dollar applied to English or French coinage. A Suffolk County Court case from the session of January 25, 1675/6 involved French exchange rates and probably involved some coinage. Robert Sanderson and Jeremiah Dummer both testified in the case that “the French crown was worth “not more the 5s 5d at most” in New England money.” Their testimonies may have been required simply to arrive at a fair exchange rate for French livres of account, or may have been necessary because of the need to convert actual French coinage. In either event it seems both Sanderson and Dummer had assayed a French *Ècu* at some point in time and were able to testify as to the intrinsic value of the coin in relation to Massachusetts money. In this case they called the *Ècu* a French crown and did not use the term French dollar. Unfortunately, the editor of the court documents merely summarized the testimonies rather than actually transcribe them. Thus, we only have the editor’s statement that the coins were called Crowns. However, I suspect he simply took his description of the coin from the record rather than try to make up a term.

I have looked for references to specific coins the Seventeenth century County Court Records for Suffolk and Essex counties, the Probate Records for those counties and the Suffolk County Deeds (all of these documents have been published for all or part of the 17th century). Unfortunately many records simply state monetary amount in pounds (either Massachusetts pounds or pounds sterling) but do not actually explain which coins were used. Some court cases and some deeds specifically mention amounts in “Royals of Eight” or Spanish dollars, which leads me to suspect Spanish American eight reales were actually changing hands in those cases. Probate inventories usually list the total value of money found among the deceased’s possessions but they rarely specifically which coins were found. I suspect a few English Crowns may have been intermixed with the various

coinages in Massachusetts Bay but I have not uncovered any evident that makes me suspect they were common.

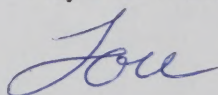
You asked if I was willing to reconsider what Hull meant when he used the term "sterling silver dollars" (abbreviated by Hull as "sterl silver dd"). I have taken this to refer to Spanish American silver cobs. I am certainly willing to reconsider the meaning of "sterling silver dollars" but I find no independent contemporary evidence that would suggest it refers to anything other than Spanish American cobs.

You accurately mentioned in your letter "Sterling coinage usually had a greater fineness than Spanish silver...". Indeed, there was a fineness distinction between Spanish cobs and English sterling coinage. Unlike many numismatists who have considered Spanish coinage to have a higher fineness (based on the legislated fineness of .9305 for Spanish versus .925 for Sterling) I assume you used Newton's assay results which demonstrate Spanish cobs were often below the sterling standard. I fully agree on this point. However, I suspect the fineness variations between sterling and Spanish American silver coinage were not that great. It seems to me that Spanish American cobs often traded by weight in Britain and America as the equivalent of sterling. Clearly during the alteration debate of 1626 the eight reales was considered to be of sterling fineness and 1649 it was set at a value of 54.25d per 17.5 dwt. (420 grains) but generally traded as 54d. This is, in fact, the equivalent of sterling. At 92.9 grains per shilling, sterling is 7.74166 grains per 1d,* while at 54d per 17.5 dwt. eight reales there are just about 7.77777 grains per 1d.** The difference was considered inconsequential, especially when one understands there was a 2 dwt. per troy pound tolerance in both weight and fineness in the British Pyx test. Thus, individual coins fluctuated above and below the average. The Potosí scandal was considered to be so disastrous because the fineness was adulterated, thus the coins could not be reliably traded as equivalent to sterling by weight. See the excerpt from my forthcoming work that is enclosed (chapters 16 and 17), primarily pp. 159, 162 and 170-171. Obviously I would welcome any comments you may wish to share.

*This is the unofficial weight for a penny in sterling. The London mint defined a penny as 7 grains, 14 mites, 20 droits, 2 perits and 12 blanks in sterling. This equalled 7.741926 grains of sterling. A shilling was to weigh exactly 3 pennyweight, 20 grains, 18 mites, 1 droit and 10 perits in sterling silver, which is very close to 92.90312 grains.

**At the official rate of 54.25d the eight reales is 7.7419354 grains of sterling per penny, which is very close to the official rate of sterling.

Very Best Wishes,



Louis Jordan

Shop Account in Hull's ledger

FINAL ENTRIES LIST Sterl. Silver d^d

1671	86 ¹⁸	Annot. of the shop is d ^d .			
		To 417 ¹ / ₂ sterl. silver sent into y ^e shop to be minted	} sterl. ¹ / ₃ is £	176	175 13 ..
		To 111 ounces of plate			
24	86 ¹²	To 208 ¹ / ₂ sterl. sent into be minted w th ward on T ^e ndales		64.3.0	64 3 ..
26	8 ¹¹	To 12 paper of files for w th Cor. Allen			5 5 ..
2	11	To 50 plate & money	119 ¹ / ₂ 255 ¹ / ₄		
1672	15.4	To money lent			20 8 ..
	21 4	To money lent			30
	29 4	To Put in to Coyne 179 ¹ / ₂			
1673	Aug ²⁵	To Put in to y ^e mint house to be Coynd 265 ¹ / ₂ sterl. at 6 ^d is £81.14.2			
	Sept	To lent to the Comtee money as lease B. fol ¹ / ₄		£	20
1674	Dec. 17	To Put in to the mint house to Coyne 275 ¹ / ₂ sterl. at 6 ^d is £84.19.0			
		4 Rings get in y ^e shop of mine i. 12. 74.			
1675	May. 8	To 369 ¹ / ₂ sterl. fil ^d into y ^e mint house to be Coynd			
	June 17	To 217 ¹ / ₂ sterl. fil ^d into y ^e mint house to be Coynd. 63 ^d is £67.16.3			
	July 17	To 12 Iron Potts & 3 small roys			5 .. 6
1676	June 14	To 496 ¹ / ₂ sterl. fil ^d to be Coynd			

this the only criterion we should conclude that obverses 1 and 2 preceded obverse 3. There is as much, or as little, resemblance to a Willow Tree as to any other. Pronounced characteristics of any kind of a tree are conspicuously absent from both sketch and coins. The short trunk is perhaps thicker than might be expected for the height, and since there are indications of neither leaves nor branches, we can only wonder at the courage of the person who dubbed this a Willow Tree. One distinction does separate it from the oak and pine groups, however. In both of these, the trees are indicated by branches which bear a clear relation to the bole. In the Willow Tree group the tree is depicted as a mass and there is no attempt to show a relation between the branches and a trunk. The tree outline consists of pointed elements along with parts having rounded contours. When it is possible to find a specimen free from double striking, the design as a whole is not ineffective in a crude way and this becomes more apparent in the reconstructions. Obverse 3 is perhaps the most finished of them all.

The reverses, aside from the rim inscriptions, offer only the date and denomination-figures for comparisons. Almost never do we find all four figures of the date visible on a single specimen (Nos. 2, 10, 13 and 21), and comparisons, in consequence, are unsatisfying. There are five reverse dies, and on these the forms of the Arabic numerals afford the only distinctions other than the letters of the inscriptions. The variation in both letters and numerals is

considerable, as a glance at the enlargements will show, and there is little consistency.

The inscription admirably fulfills its function of giving the necessary facts with regard to the coinage. The issuing authority is given the prominence to which it is entitled; the date is placed significantly and the denomination clearly indicated. One might justify the addition of IN NEW ENGLAND to MASATHUSETS because the latter appears on one side and NEW ENGLAND on the reverse. Brief thought will show how preferable this is to "Massachusetts Bay Colony" or any other alternative which might have been considered by John Hull at the time. Any addition to MASATHUSETS on the obverse must needs have been a short word if the inscription was to be kept in letters of the size used. The omission of NEW ENGLAND from the reverse and the amplification of AN DOM to ANNO DOMINI would have been a poor alternative, since it would have exalted these relatively unimportant words to a prominence equalling that of MASATHUSETS on the obverse.

The reconstructions show that the size of the letters, too, would call for praise if the element of double striking were absent. Their proportions are excellent and their scale in respect to the whole design seems very close to the best that could have been selected.

One service which the reconstructions reproduced in this monograph has rendered is the demonstration that the spelling MASATHUSETS on the Willow

Tree coins is uniform with that on the Oak and Pine Tree issues and that none of the strange misspellings mistakenly attributed to Hull really exist. Hull's spelling is unchanged throughout the entire coinage with a single exception where the H is dropped—something almost certainly due to inadvertence. Variation in the spelling of ordinary names is common in the early records, and even in documents and letters in the handwriting of men who are unquestionably of sound learning, we find unbelievable vagaries. It is not surprising, therefore, that there seems to have been no attempt to discover whence came the spelling used on the coins. The substitution of T for the customary C in the third syllable would have interesting connotations of a linguistic nature if it could be established that the TH spelling had been common and that it gave way to the form with which we are more familiar. An appeal to a distinguished authority in the American Antiquarian Society confirmed the reasonable deduction that this spelling is used throughout the diaries of John Hull, which, as has been mentioned, are preserved in Worcester, and which are in Hull's handwriting. On the colonial seal, the spelling is MATTACHUSETTS. In the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company we find the spelling used on the coins along with three other forms. A careful search in the records of the Governor and Company and similar sources might provide data which would explain this spelling. It is a field of investigation which offers a fair reward but it re-

quires a more complete and dependable knowledge of the period than is possessed by the writer. It seems improbable that Hull would use this spelling without authority, or that he would have taken an unusual spelling deliberately. The circumstance that it persisted without change for a period of forty years, when it might easily have been challenged and changed, gives the form considerable weight which can hardly be ignored and one which seems not to have been recognized by historians hitherto.

ORDER OF THE DIES

We have already noted that the obverse dies bearing the Willow Tree type are three in number, and that the spelling MASATHUSETS is common to all three. With our present knowledge, it hardly seems possible to determine the order of these obverse dies convincingly. There are, however, at least two considerations which make the order in which we have presented them reasonable.

In the arrangement of the Oak Tree series which is to be submitted later, the variety which has been selected as the earliest has a tree with formalized roots which are like those on obverse No. 3. Secondly, the sketch which appeared in the margin of the official record, shows these roots separated and somewhat individualized. A like condition will be found with the tree which appears on obverses 1 and 2. No. 1 seems closer to the sketch than No. 2; the shape of the tree on No. 1 is fuller and fills the field

NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS is devoted to essays and treatises on subjects relating to coins, paper money, medals and decorations and is uniform with *Hispanic Notes and Monographs* published by the Hispanic Society of America, and with *Indian Notes and Monographs* issued by the Museum of the American Indian—Heye Foundation.

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THE NEW ENGLAND AND
WILLOW TREE COINAGES
OF MASSACHUSETTS

BY
SYDNEY P. NOE



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
NEW YORK
1943

Ship lay there a twelue month hee would not hire a horse, and that other times hee hath heard the saide Elson Say that all was bound over to him for the paym^t of the Ships hire, and if hee could but receive enough to pay the hire hee did not care; and sometimes upon occasion & when the Employers wrong & loss hath been spoken of, hee hath heard him say hee was not concerned for the Jmployers, but the Owners interest or words to that purpose and the depon^t Saith that m^r Elson hath sundry times been spoken too to protest ag^t m^r Bergier, but his answer was hee had not power so to doe, and the Depon^t Saith that himselfe and others of the Ship's company did looke upon the Master to remiss in quickning m^r Bergier to a dispatch: And further the Depon^t Saith that hee findes by his Journall that the Ship stay'd at S^t Christophers from the. 16th till the. 26th of June & there delivered out two or three parcells of Sugar, the number of caske the Depon^t knows not; and the Depon^t Saith that the s^d Elson hath disc^{ed} with the depon^t two Shillings for every liver hee rec^d for his wages in France & further Saith not

Thomas Wilkott Marriner aged about. 35. yeares testifieth that hee knowes the Substance of what is abouewritten and deposed to bee true, hee being Boatswayne of the s^d Ship and perticularly the Doctors offer to goe to m^r Bergier if m^r Elson would hire him a horse & the m^{rs} answer was in the words or to the same purpose that the Doctor hath deposed, onely the depon^t Saith hee remembers not the M^{rs} expression that hee was not concerned for the Jmployers, but hath heard difference between the m^r & Doctor upon acc^o of the Jmployers interest: And that theire Stay at Christofers & Disc^t for the depon^{ts} wages was as the testimony aboue declares.

Sworn in Court by both witnesses. January. 26^o: 1675

as Attests. Js^a Addington Cler

There are others of the same tenor in S. F. 1430.12. Robert Sanderson and Jeremiah Dummer, the silversmiths, deposed (S. F. 1430.11) that the French crown was worth "not more than 5s 5d at most" in New England money; Augustin Mellot testified (S. F. 1430.8) that the ordinary exchange value of a "liver" from Boston to La Rochelle was 2s; but Peter Lorphelin deposed (S. F. 1430.10) that a friend of his had been able to obtain but 20d for a French livre in Boston.

Elson's bill of lading from St. Kitts to La Rochelle, and his letter of introduction from Clerbaut Bergier, follow (S. F. 1430.13, 6):

I James Elson Master under God of the Ship Blessing of Boston burthen two hundred tunns or thereabout being at ancor at present before S^t Christopher for & with the first convenient weather which God shall send to pursue the Voyage untill & before the Citty of Rochell where shalbee my direct unloading, do acknowl- edge to have received under the deck of sd Ship of you Clerbaut Bergier the goods following viz^t two hundred Forty hh^{ds} & twenty quarter casks of Muscovado Sugar which are going for the acco^{ts} & Riscos of m^r Wharton & Bendish Bertram Servant James Elson William Gerrish dwelling in Boston, which Merchandizes J promiss to deliver in Rochell unto m^r Debaussay, John Bailly and the s^d Cap^{ne} or unto his order Factors or Intermedler the danger of the Seas excepted of which

God keepe us: For the fulfilling of what about J haue obliged by these presents my body goods & my s^d Ship Freight & apparrell in Showing mee one of those bill of loading, & the s^d Debaussay Bailly &^a shalbee bound to pay mee for my Freight of the s^d goods the Summe of ten deners per pound & shall cleare the company & other advarages & duties accustomed. Jn Witness whereof J Master abouementioned James Elson haue Signed of my hand three bills of loading . . . made in S^t Christopher the fifth day of the month of July. 1675.

Received the number of Casks the quantity & contents not known.

Per mee James Elson

. . . true Coppie . . . Js^a Addington Cler

In S^t Christophers the 6th July. 1675.

S^{rs}

As m^r Richard Wharton & Thomas Bendish M^cchants in New Enland haue directed here to mee the Cap^t James Elson present bearer with order to direct him to you, w^{ch} J do & according to the order w^{ch} they ought to have given you, you shall dispose of the Cargo wholly seeing that it is for the produce of their goods, as you shall see by the bill of loading herewith: they did promiss to send mee other Ship, which J haue order also to direct to you J conclude assuring you that J am

Yo^r humble Servant

Bergier

To m^{rs} Devanpray Senio^r & m^r Bailly merchant Jn Rochell

. . . true Coppie . . . Edward Rawson Secret.

Captain Elson explained these proceedings in the following deposition (S. F. 1430.14):

Boston the 17th of December. 1675

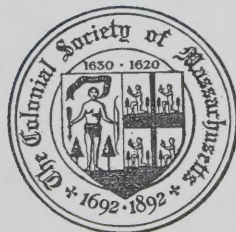
The deposition of James Elson Master of the Ship Blessing aged about. 32 yeares testifieth & Saith

That according to the orders of m^r Richard Wharton & m^r Thomas Bendish to whome the Ship Blessing was let per Charterparty, J applied myselfe to m^r Mellot of Martineco, to whome J was ordered in the absence of m^r Bergier, & by virtue of s^d Mellots order J sailed s^d Ship to Guardeloope where find s^d m^r Bergier J attended his order & sailed the s^d Ship from Jsland to Jsland with him the s^d Bergier & by his order for the unloading & reloading the Ship & that no time was spent with s^d Ship in the west Indies or on the Voyage but by s^d Bergiers order, to whome J was consigned with the Ship, who also was concerned $\frac{1}{2}$. part of s^d Ships Freightment as m^r Richard Wharton told mee here, before wee sailed hence: Also that assoon as the Ship was loaden in the west Indies m^r Bergier gave mee his orders to Saile the Ship to Rochell & consigned the same to m^r John Bailly there, where after the delivery of the Ship J made up an acco^t with s^d Bailly for the Ships hire and demurrage & is now in Court who paide mee the full of saide demurrage for the persons concerned in France, and J urging for all according to s^d Acco^t so made up, hee refused for m^r Whartons & m^r Bendish's parts for want of effects as appeares per the protest now in Court: And for my not protesting in the west Indies as m^r Wharton urges J could not doe that hee having a liberty per the Charterparty, paying 55. livers per diem till his orders

PUBLICATIONS
OF
The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

VOLUME XXX

COLLECTIONS



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PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

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1671-1680

PART II

Louis Jordan
102 Hesbergh Library
University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, IN 46556

April 26, 2002

Dear Louis:

Your very informative letter of April 11, 2002 gave me better detail as to the broad scope of your extensive research in the 16th and 17th century coinage matters. It is wonderful.

With respect to my tentative feeling that the word dollar might have been applied to English coinage I just felt that "sterling silver dollars" could mean English crowns because Spanish coinage was ordinarily not made with sterling fineness. The new world fineness was accurate and strictly enforced. The Iberian fineness was subject to variance and ended up with the pistareen and its parts when the Spanish King decided to cheat. I do think it would help to add the literary references to your opus as I found some in the O.E.D.- Barnabe Rich, 1581, Farewell to Military Profession; and T. Herbert, 1634, etc. (see enclosure). I checked Arthur Nusbaum, A History of the Dollar, (NY 1851) and find it adds little detail.

The matter of the spelling of MASATHVSETS on coinage has some comic relief. Your letter may have a misspelling of MATTACHVSETS by adding an extra T to the official seal spelling. However the photocopy of the front page of the second ledger volume is excellent for me to use and I am very appreciative. It shows that Hull at least knew how to spell the CH portion. Although the first tt looks very much like the last t but it is possible this is an ss as both can be written similarly when a double ss is written. The other s letters in the title are quite different but the double letter ss may be written in the long s style. Do you know of any other double ss in the ledgers? That would be helpful. Look at double tt in Ditto on the bottom of the ledger title sheet you sent me as it is there twice and is definitely tt. As to Hull's diary and letters at the AAS do you know anyone who would look at them? The information Noe received is too vague to rely on. All someone needs to find is a double ss and it would be very helpful. I could write as a member of AAS but I do not think it would mean much. What do you think about my idea that what appears to be tt is actually ss? I think that is how the original mistake on the seal occurred – they just could not read the writing.

Thank you again for your kind cooperation and my best to you.

Sincerely,

Eric P. Newman

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

Louis Jordan
102 Hesbergh Library
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Notre Dame, IN 46556

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Thank you again for your kind cooperation and my best to you.

Sincerely,



Eric P. Newman

Louis Jordan

August 23, 2002

Dear Lou:

You should be extremely satisfied to have added a monumental numismatic book to the world. Your research is particularly unusual because it took a popular subject which has been written upon by many others over the years and demonstrated completeness in depth and true clarity in presentation. Crosby would have been as proud of you as you are of him.

I am grateful for the gift of the volume and your mention of my encouragement for your endeavor.

I have read only portions of the opus so far and I am amazed as to how useful and necessary the calendar of events is.

The Willow Tree problem as to torque slippage needs more study and your discussion on pp. 90-91 is superb. I have evidence as you may know that a screw press once existed in which the upper die continued to rotate when striking occurred. Whether this is accurate or not bothers me but the striking of Willow Trees on both faces shows rotation as if the planchet itself moved while being struck. I have never checked the position of the obverse and reverse relative to each other. Perhaps you have.

Please accept all the compliments you can receive as stimulation to keep going on your next numismatic subject.

Thanks again,

Eric P. Newman

September 5, 2002

Eric P. Newman
6450 Cecil Avenue
St. Louis, MO 63105

Dear Eric,

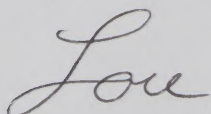
Thank you so much for your comments on the Hull book. They are greatly appreciated. Most appropriately, your letter arrived on Saturday, August 31st, the eve of the 350th anniversary of the opening of the Massachusetts Mint on September 1st, 1652. That was superb timing!

Crosby's work has been a nearby companion for me throughout this project. I remember the first time I read the introduction to your book on colonial currency and saw your homage to Crosby, naming your work *The Early Paper Money of America* in tribute to his *The Early Coins of America*. This makes your comment about Crosby even more special to me.

I also thank you for your observation on the chronology. In fact, the 67 pages describing and documenting the events of the period was a project I worked on, as time permitted, over a period of three years. The chronology and the edition of the ledger entries are the two anchors on which my study is based.

I have appended a few comments on the rocker die theory, with an update relating how Hull may have delineated the circles for the beaded borders on the coins as well as some information on reverse die axes.

Very best wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Lou".

Louis Jordan

On the Willow Tree coinage I do not know of your evidence for a screw press in which the upper die rotated during striking. I would be pleased to hear about this.

I believe my main contributions to the study of Massachusetts silver relate to historical documentation, analyzing events and commenting on the significance of the production related information in the Hull ledger. On the specific points relating to the use of the rocker press I felt I did not have a sufficient quantity of evidence at hand to include a definitive discussion on the topic. Indeed, you may have noticed I stated on p. 88, "However, the evidence we can glean from the coins *suggests* Hull used a rocker press... ." But I did not go on to explain that evidence, rather, I referred the reader to the commentary on the Massachusetts silver illustrated in the back of the book and to Mike Hodder's catalog of the Hain sale.

The coin evidence spans the Willow, Oak and Pine Tree series, but is scanty for Willow coinage, as there are so few extant examples. For me, the most significant reason to suspect the use of rocker dies relates to the relationship between the alignment of the obverse and reverse impressions.

On several examples of the Oak and Pine Tree coins (that is, large planchet Pines as well as 3d and 6d Pines) we see an alignment problem. The reverse of the coin is rather well centered while the obverse has part of the legend cut off; it is usually more accentuated on smaller denomination coins. This single side misalignment seems to indicate rocker or roller dies in which the incised images in the obverse and reverse dies were not perfectly aligned when the images were impressed. Therefore, when the coin was cut out of the strip the image on one side (the reverse) was correctly trimmed while the image on the other side was partly clipped off.

When using a screw press the images on the obverse and reverse dies would align so that an off-center strike would be off-center on both sides of the coin, not just on one side. Automatic alignment is an advantage of the screw press over roller and rocker presses and one of the reasons the screw press ultimately replaced them. If a screw press had been used one would expect a rather precise alignment of the images so that both sides would be equally on-center (or equally off-center). Alignment errors on a screw press usually occur when a planchet is not properly resting on the die so that some portion of each side of the planchet is not struck. Two sided misalignment is what is seen in alignment errors on small planchet shillings (i.e. if part of the obverse legend is clipped one finds part of the reverse legend clipped). This suggests the small planchet shillings were produced on a screw press.

Another piece of evidence for the rocker press is that it appears the Willow, Oak and Large Planchet Pines, as well as the 3d and 6d Pines, were impressed on strips and then cut out by hand, rather than having been made from pre-cut planchets. This seems likely based on specimens such as the two Pine Tree Noe 1 examples I use as figures 22 and 23. There are several other specimens that could have been used to illustrate this point. I illustrated these two examples because they are over the authorized weight, so it would seem unlikely the clipping could be attributed to illegal post-minting activities.

A problem with the rocker press theory relates to the beaded borders (usually only the inner beaded border is visible) on the obverse and reverse of the coins. Noe mentioned the beaded borders on some varieties appear elongated or oval while on other varieties they appear rounder. It has been suggested the coins with the rounder appearance could have been made in a screw press while the more oval coins were made on a rocker press. One interesting example that makes this theory impossible is Oak Tree Noe 1, where the obverse beaded border is oval while the reverse beaded border is rounder!

The elongation of the beaded border as an oval rather than a circle suggests a rocker die in which the diemaker delineated a circle on the die and then used that circle as a guide on which to create the beaded border (this would give the beaded border on the coin an oval appearance.) Closely related to the creation of this border is the center dot seen on the coins. I suspect the center dot impressed into the die was the reference point for centering the design. In the book I suggested a compass was used to delineate a circle on the die. However, it seems to me it would be a rather difficult procedure to delineate an oval on a curved rocker die using a compass, which would be necessary to produce the circular design we see on several varieties of Massachusetts silver. Based on a suggestion made by Jim Spilman in a recent e-mail exchange, I now suspect a metal template was aligned on the center dot and then used as a guide in delineating a circle (or oval) for the beaded border.

If a template was circular, the image on the curved rocker die would be circular. Such a die would produce a less desirable oval shaped beaded border on the coins. But, if the template was more oval, the image on the curved rocker die would be oval. Such a die would produce coins with a rounder border of beads. It seems to me, the use of templates rather than a compass can account for the variations we see between varieties that have an oval appearance and those that have a rounder appearance. Of course, this also requires one to assume there were several templates. Thus the template used for the inner beaded border on the obverse die of Oak Tree Noe 1 was rounder, making the obverse beaded border on the coin look oval. At the same time the template used on the reverse die was more oval, hence the reverse of the coin had a beaded border that was rounder.

There are several other observations that suggest a rocker press, such as the wavy appearance of several specimens and the wearing out of the central tree design as I explained in figures 24 and 25 regarding the examples of the Large Planchet Pine Tree shillings Noe 2 and 3. Also, as explained in the book, the expansion of the shilling planchet with the introduction of the large planchet Pines further suggests a rocker press was employed. However, the contraction of the diameter and the increased thickness in the small planchet Pines, along the rather improved alignment of the obverse and reverse images, suggests the acquisition of both a screw press and a planchet cutter. None of these observations conclusively prove what type of press was used but together they suggest there is a fairly good probability that a rocker press was used up to the small planchet series.

You mentioned the reverse die axes of Massachusetts coins. This is a particularly interesting point in regard to Willow Tree coinage. Unfortunately, die rotation is rarely included in descriptions of Massachusetts silver. It is not even found in the detailed descriptions from the Hain sale catalog! However, John Kleeberg did include die rotation information in his catalog of the 1991 COAC exhibition. Thus, on this point my evidence is sparse. I am limited to the COAC data and the few examples of Massachusetts silver I have been able to personally examine to determine reverse die axes data.

Generally, the reverse die axis of a Massachusetts Oak or Pine Tree coin is at 12:00 o'clock (a medal turn) or within 30°, that is between 11:00 to 1:00 o'clock. The major exception is the Oak Tree Noe 1, which has a coin turn with a reverse axis at 6 o'clock (or no more than 15° to the left of center). Interestingly, two Willow Tree shillings have a coin turn: COAC number 17, a Noe 3-C and COAC number 19, a Noe 3-E. Naturally, the NE series has a coin turn, although COAC catalog number 8, an NE Noe 3-C shilling has a medal turn!

From the COAC examples the only Oak or Pine Tree coins with a reverse axis beyond a 30° variance are: catalog number 48, an Oak Tree Noe 10 at 1:30 o'clock, or 45° to the right of center and catalog number 139 a Pine Tree 3d at 10:30, or 45° to the left. There is no substantial difference in the degree of variance in the reverse die axis between large planchet and small planchet shillings. However, there is a wider variance in the reverse die axes on the Willow Tree series. COAC number 13 has a reverse axis at 2:00 o'clock (60° variance), number 15 at 2:15 o'clock (67.5° variance) and number 19 at 4:00 o'clock (60° variance).

There are several ways to interpret this data. It could lead one to suspect a different production method for the Willow series. On the other hand the Willow Tree coins could be interpreted as an early series where inexperience resulted in wider tolerances (and more shifting of the dies). One could assume the rocker dies were not always perfectly symmetrical, or to state it more accurately, the axis of engraved image on the obverse rocker die was not precisely symmetrical with the axis of the engraved image on the reverse rocker die. This may have been due to an engraving miscalculation or, more probably, it may have been due to an alignment problem with the rocker dies. As mentioned above, if one rocker die was slightly higher or lower or slightly to the right or the left of the other die, the obverse and reverse would be misaligned so that one side of the impressed coin was somewhat off-center from the other side. However, there is also another type of misalignment. If one of the two rocker dies was at a slightly tilted angle, the obverse and reverse could be centered but the die axis of one side would be misaligned. The degree of the tilt of the die would be reflected by the variance of the axis from center on the coin. Thus the data might suggest early Willow dies tilted as much as 60° and sometimes even more, while in later periods the dies usually tilted no more than 30°. On the other hand one might suspect this wider variance suggests another type of press was used.

Based on the several observations above that suggest a rocker press, I currently view the reverse die axes data as demonstrating the axes of the engraved images on the rocker dies were not always perfectly symmetrical to each other and that at the earliest period, when Willows were produced, symmetry was even more problematic.

Mr. Louis Jordan

September 16, 2002

Dear Louis:

Thank you for your letter of September 9, 2002 and its fascinating explanatory enclosure.

In this letter I am answering primarily the first sentence of your enclosure and my speculation as to the difficult problem at hand on coinage equipment for Willow Trees. It is essential for you to read (if you have not) Denis Cooper, The Art and Craft of Coin Making (London 1988, pp.51-60). This explains the early problem of preventing rotation of the upper die in a screw press and what was done about it.

I lean more and more to the Willow Tree coinage being made in a screw press lacking proper parts or with defective parts, permitting turning of the upper die during striking. There was no screw press used or needed for the prior NE coinage as only small hand punches were enough. The first coin press used for Willow Tree coinage could have been made in Massachusetts or imported. It could have been new or used. It was primitive or defective in any event. On many of the Willow Trees both dies and/or the planchet rotated, but without regularity in the amount of rotation from piece to piece and usually with no double striking of the same part of the design.

In a crude screw press without a slider it seems possible that the lower die might have been supported in a cup-like holder so that the lower die would be free to rotate when activated by the rotating upper die in a transfer of torque from the upper nut to the upper die through the planchet. It may have been thought that the upper and lower dies would turn smoothly together and result in a clear striking. It seems clear that the planchet slipped within the dies during the striking due to the torque and /or the bounce of the vertical impact.

When the vertical impact was very strong the rotation of the dies might have increased the planchet twist whereas a weaker strike might have turned the lower die smoothly without the planchet moving within the dies. Most of the Willows have design and letter elements in a variety of rotated positions. Those few in which the die image is complete and properly placed on both sides of the coin are weak strikes so far as I am aware. I see no way for a rocker press or sway press to cause strange and inconsistent die planchet rotation. It might have smeared the design if the planchet moved.

The striking impact and the torque pressure both had to be absorbed and that combination certainly could make the striking pressure and bounce very uneven and cause the planchet to move during striking. If they used a screw press with a slider to try to prevent upper die rotation the iron of the slider could be easily bent by the constant twist impact and permit the upper die to rotate somewhat on striking. If that happened the lower die might stay locked in place but the planchet would have to rotate somewhat because of upper die rotation. There could have been a heavy shock in two directions

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

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52087 Central Ave
South Bend, IN 46637

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the lower die might stay locked in place but the planchet would have to rotate somewhat because of upper die rotation. There could have been a heavy shock in two directions from the combined impact and torque absorption depending on the ability of the parts to stay in their intended position and their resilience.

The fact that the designs were not smeared by the movement is somewhat of a mystery. It would mean that the planchet moved separately from the dies for an instant while the dies bounced apart. How to find out what vibration resulted from the vertical impact and the torque is beyond me.

There could also be die movement on striking due to the threads of the screw press not perfectly fitting the main nut. There could be resultant play on impact because the threads on the screw and on the nut were square cut by hand and /or might have been damaged by the early strikings.

It is clear there was no circular planchet cutter used for the Willows. If a planchet cutting screw press was available that would constitute one extra piece of machinery and such a planchet cutter would not eliminate hand cutting after striking because they had no roller press strong enough to make sheets of uniform thickness. They were making sheets by hand hammering and that would not produce uniform enough thickness to use a screw press for planchet cutting and obtain planchets of equal and proper weight.

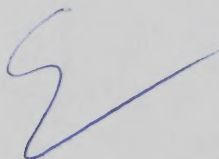
In addition to Cooper's material there is an illustration of a screw press which seems to have a rotating top die in "Essay on Coining" by Samuel Thompson, Dublin 1783 that is a manuscript at ANS. It has illustrations of a screw press planchet cutter and a screw press minting machine (See those illustrations in Don Taxay, U.S. Mint and Coinage (NY 1966). Also the screw press for coinage is in Walter Breen's Encyclopedia of Early U.S. Cents 1793-1814 (Wolfeboro, NH 2001)

I have found a written description of a screw press minting machine in the 1815 Philadelphia edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica and this specifically stated that the upper die turned during striking. I located this item in Mexico under the article on Coinage.

Ken Bressett and I have been tossing this problem around for a while and your input would be most welcome and helpful. It is a puzzlement. If you have further questions please send them, also your email address.

Again my congratulations on your opus. I am sorry to raise so much Hull but he certainly could have helped us by making more entries in his records.

My best,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'E. Newman', with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke at the end.

Eric P. Newman

Cc: Kenneth Bressett

Mr. Louis Jordan

September 30, 2002

Dear Louis:

I feel I should modify the content of my September 16, 2002 letter to you concerning the minting method for the Willow Tree coinage. I realize this may not be a matter which is of major interest to you, but merely want to inform you of a change in my direction of thought about the puzzlement arising from the position of design elements on most Willow Tree coinage.

Ken Bressett has now convinced me that my thinking on screw press strikings is not sound. He feels that if they had a screw press for Willows they would never have gone backward to a rocker press or sway press for the Oak Tree and the large size Pine Tree coinage. He feels that a hand hammered striking is the probable method for Willows. When hammer striking is used the planchet would be hand placed on the lower die whether the die was countersunk in a tree trunk base or otherwise mounted or held. Then the upper die whether it was hand held or tongs held would be struck by a blow from a hammer. The strike could be too strong, too weak, off center, tilted etc. often requiring another blow because of inexperienced workmen. The planchet would expand radially during striking. It could stick to either die or move radially or jump out. The thickness of the planchet would not be uniform because the metal was first hammered into sheet and not made from rolled sheet. A cookie cutter might have been helpful to cut planchets out of a sheet but due to lack of uniform thickness the struck coin would have to be further clipped in any event to reach proper weight. They had no cookie cutter of the screw press type as you know from reviewing Oak Tree coinage and large Pine Tree coinage struck later. Use of a cookie cutter after striking Willow Tree coinage is not indicated on Willow Tree examples.

Ken feels that strips were not used for that hand minting; just individual cut outs of convenient shape. For a second blow the upper die would be somewhat rotated in position because it was never confined. The planchet may have moved somewhat during striking or might have had to be replaced on the lower die again for a second strike if it jumped out or moved after the first strike. The planchet after being struck might not have been placed directly over the lower die because of the planchet expansion or bounce.

Both sides of Willows usually have rotated impressions rather than direct overlapping impressions. These design positions led me to select the screw press as the only reasonable source for the design positions because a primitive screw press could have had the torque motion and impact bounce that could explain those rotations. As to hand hammering Ken has concluded that almost anything could happen, as the upper die would always be in a different rotated position on the second strike from the first strike. How a second blow in hand hammering would seem to shift the lower die is a problem as

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

Mr. Louis Jordan
52087 Central Ave
South Bend, IN 46637

September 30, 2002

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How a second blow in hand hammering would seem to shift the lower die is a problem as it might have become somewhat loose in its wooden holder and shift position slightly or the planchet could slip into a different position during the first strike or move due to planchet expansion. Ken is an expert on English hammered coinage but for now has no specific explanation of the weird results of Willow Tree coinage. He and I will think about the problem further. Perhaps you can add to our thoughts by looking at the images in your book. Feel free to ask any questions or make comments but further reasonable answers may not be within any grasp.

It is a fascinating challenge and we hope it can be solved.

My kindest regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'E. Newman', with a stylized, cursive-like flourish.

Eric P. Newman

Cc: Ken Bressett

October 6, 2002

Eric P. Newman
6450 Cecil Avenue
St. Louis, MO 63105

Dear Eric,

Thank you for your very interesting letters of September 16th and 30th. Your discussion of the possible use of the screw press for Willow Tree coinage was intriguing. I had never considered the possibility of a rotating die (either the upper or lower die or both) or imperfect threads on the main screw as possible sources of the Willow Tree errors.

Obviously, as you suggested, the screw press theory presents problems in understanding how the planchet rotated as the dies bounced apart, but my central question was one similar to what Ken brought up. Ken asked - Why go backwards from a screw press to a rocker press with the Oak coinage? I looked at this situation from the other side of the timeline. Namely, I asked - Is it possible Hull could have obtained such an advanced machine as a screw press at a time when even the London mint was striking coins by the hammer method? As I understand Cooper and other sources, the screw press was quite rare in coining before the 1660's. Some screw press coins were produced under Elizabeth, also, soon after the Hull mint opened, Cromwell experimented on a limited basis with the screw press for Commonwealth coinage (half crown 1656; crown, shilling and sixpence 1658). However, even at the London mint the screw press did not become the standard method of impressing coins until Charles II in the early 1660s. This was also true elsewhere; Cooper mentions the Zeeland press converting in 1671. The Spanish mints did not convert to the screw press until around 1700 in Spain and even later at their American mints (1730s-40s).

Does it seem probable that during the 1650s the colonial mint of Hull would have access to the very latest (and the most expensive) minting equipment available? One would need to have a fairly detailed knowledge of the use of the screw press in the early 1600s, to answer this question. My knowledge on this subject is quite limited. As best as I can determine the early Italian screw presses were used for the production of medals, although I know of one Papal gold coin produced on a screw press (there certainly may have been other coins, but I am not aware of them). Even as late as the 1560s minters

stated the screw press was too slow and therefore was not as economical as hammer striking in the production of business strike coinage (Cooper, p. 54).

Ken's theory certainly takes care of this problem since the technology and equipment for hammer striking was readily available and was relatively inexpensive. It also seems to be a reasonable intermediary between the NE punches and a full-scale rocker press. Also, there is little doubt each strike of the hammer could produce a variety of problems (off-center, tilted, etc.) that would be unique to a single coin. A second strike that was improperly aligned and was delivered at an angle (or if there was a tilting of the die) could produce the off center bead rings in one quarter of the coin, as is found on several Willow Tree shillings. It could also account for specific doubled numbers and letters (as the Noe 1-A example I illustrated with a doubled 2 but a normal 5 in the date 1652).

Further, the hammer strike theory (as well as the screw press theory) have an advantage over the rocker press theory as regards the obverse and reverse alignment of Willow Tree 6d and 3d coins. The few existing 6d and 3d Willow Tree obverses and reverses are well aligned. With the rocker press one would expect a larger portion of one side of the coin to be misaligned, so that at some point the legend area would be off the planchet. This is certainly true in the Oak and Pine series, but it is not true for the Willows.

However, you made a significant point in the fourth paragraph of your September 30th letter. Namely, many surviving Willow Tree coins display a rotated impression rather than (the more common phenomenon of) an overlapping impression. Of course, almost anything could happen to a planchet when it was struck a second time using the hammer method, including a rotated or an overlapping impression. But, when we look at the surviving Willow Tree coins, we see many (or possibly most) surviving specimens display some significant die rotation impression problems.

If we assume these surviving specimens are a reasonable sample of the original population (which I suspect is probably the case since the specimens extend through multiple obverse and reverse die varieties), then we must ask the following question. If the Willow Tree coins were hammer struck is it likely a significant number of examples would display a rotating double impression? My answer to this would be – I suspect the hammer process could produce a rotated impress but I believe that would not be a normal strike. Wouldn't the random nature of the hammer strike have produced some examples with overlapping impressions as well as many specimens that were correctly struck? A variety of different of errors would seem more appropriate to hammer strikes, especially if one was suggesting hammer struck errors were do to inexperienced minters. The extraordinary preponderance of rotational errors seems to suggest a continuing problem caused by a machine rather than a continuing repetitive error by an individual hammering planchets.

To briefly elaborate - I know of no hammer struck series that displays such a large preponderance of strikes with major rotational errors. Even the Higley coppers, which

were hammer struck by a very low budget private mint, show far less significant errors than the Willow Tree series; and the Higley errors are mostly overlapping rather than rotational. Further, there were numerous locally produced hammer struck tokens around the 1650s (as the 17th century English tokens) and many other hammer struck series from ancient times up to Hull. As far as I know none of these hammer struck series produced coins with a preponderance of the strikes displaying major rotational errors

If we postulate the lower die was countersunk in a tree trunk or somehow affixed to another base and it began to loosen after a certain number of blows, it is quite likely the die could rotate and cause the rotational error we observe on the coins. However, if this was the case one would expect the reverse die axis to vary widely, especially on examples displaying major rotated impressions. In fact, most of the COAC examples have a reverse die rotation of 30° or less (although some are as much as 60°). Indeed, COAC number 13 (my figure 14) shows significant rotation of the obverse image yet the reverse die axis is 0°. That the reverse die axes of most coins were within 30° of center would suggest the die was not allowed freely rotate from one strike to another but that the die was repositioned after each coin (or after every few coins) was/were struck. If this was the case one would suspect the minter would try to stabilize the die, possibly wedging it in tight with a shim or some packing material. Obviously, the COAC exhibit was limited to 13 Willow Tree coins and is only a small sampling of the extant population. A larger sampling is necessary.

It seems to me if the coins were hammer struck the number of radial rotational errors would be fewer and there would be some examples with full (i.e. overlapping) doubling. If a machine caused the error, it would seem more likely we would only find one type of error (i.e. the radial doubling). Further, if the minters did not have the proper part or the skill to make a new part they would need to wait until a replacement could be procured. In the meantime they would continue to produce defective items day after day.

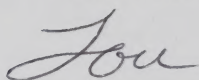
To me the central problem is - many of the surviving Willow Tree coins exhibit serious rotational impression defects. There is no minting procedure where such serious defects are part of the standard operation. Thus, we must guess which of the known minting procedures might have produced those errors. First we must suggest how the errors might have been produced if a specific minting process was used. This in no way proves that particular method was used, rather it only suggests the particular method cannot be excluded as a possibility. Next, we must ask if that method can reasonably account for the other features on the coins (die rotation, centering, etc.) If we had a large number of correctly impressed coins and a few errors the task would be easier. With very few correctly impressed coins we have very little to use as a standard by which to reject possible minting methods. Thirdly we must suggest reasons for suspecting that specific method may have actually been used at the Boston mint.

About a year ago Ray Williams asked me if there was need to create a die variety plate of the various NE and Willow varieties. I suggested a die variety plate of the Willow Tree coins would be of little help. However, I did say it would be of enormous help if there was a plate displaying all (or most of) the surviving specimens of Willow

Tree coins. The unique nature of the impression errors on these coins requires one to examine all the survivors. Rarely (if ever) do two specimens from the same die have similar impressions. Just to get an accurate image of each die, Noe had to produce composite drawings made from several specimens of each die. To obtain a better understanding of how these coins were produced we need to be able to view the entire surviving population, with accurate weight, diameter and reverse die axis measurements. At the very least it would help in quantifying the data on the type and frequency of impression errors.

Addenda: A brief caveat on rolled verses hammered sheets – I cannot prove what method Hull used in the 1650s to produce sterling sheets (or strips). However, there is no doubt iron bars were being flattened between wrought iron rollers at the Hammersmith Ironworks by 1648. Undoubtedly the rollers were made by Joseph Jenks, who I suspect also made items for Hull. It seems to me that it is quite likely Hull had rollers. Doubtless they were not perfectly polished rollers, not was he able to get perfect tolerances for precise thicknesses. My figure 9 of an NE shilling shows dots on the planchet that I believe to be imperfections (little nicks or holes) in the rollers. However, it is quite possible Hull still may have done some hammering to the sheets. This is a very minor point, for there is no doubt, as you state, Hull was unable insure a precise thickness, thus two coins of the same diameter would have different weights.

Best wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Louis Jordan'.

Louis Jordan

Subj: Some thoughts on the Willow Tree series Date: 10/07/2002 12:09:49 PM Central Daylight Time From: [REDACTED] To: [REDACTED] (Lou Jordan)
--

Dear Eric,

Over the weekend I wrote down some thoughts regarding your two letters, which are found below. The second letter arrived on Friday. Just before I was about to compose a reply to your first letter! I shall also send this information to you as a regular letter but I thought you might want to pass it on to Ken Bressett. I do not have his address so I could not send him a paper copy. Perhaps you could send him a copy of this e-mail. I hope you or Ken may have some answers for the questions and comments I pose. I am certainly not an expert on hammer coinage production.

The method of manufacture for the Willows is a very interesting problem. At this point I am not sure as to which method was used.

All best,

Lou Jordan

October 6, 2002

Eric P. Newman
 6450 Cecil Avenue
 St. Louis, MO 63105

Dear Eric,

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Louis Jordan
 Director of Special Collections
 102 Hesburgh Library
 University of Notre Dame
 Notre Dame, IN 46556

Tel: 574-631-5636
 Fax: 574-631-6308

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X-Sender: [REDACTED]

Message-Id: [REDACTED]

Date: Mon, 7 Oct 2002 12:07:39 -0400

To: [REDACTED]

From: Lou Jordan [REDACTED]

Subject: Some thoughts on the Willow Tree series

Content-Type: text/plain; charset="iso-8859-1" ; format="flowed"

Content-Transfer-Encoding: quoted-printable

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63105

Mr. Louis Jordan
Department of Special Collections
102 Hesburgh Library
University of Notre Dame
South Bend, IN 46556

December 30, 2002

Dear Lou:

Happy New Year.

I have been researching other numismatic matters and wanted to get back to you again on the type of coin press which might have been used for the Willow Tree coinage.

I reread Cooper and found that Chapters 4 and 5 have extensive material on the screw press in addition to Chapter 6 which is specifically identified by a screw press title. I wrote to Cooper to ask him to clarify some matters but just learned that he recently passed away.

You indicated that I might be correct that a crude screw press might have been used. I am further convinced of that because of rereading Cooper. I had indicated that a screw press might have a top die which turned with the screw on striking. I now feel that that this was corrected long before 1652 and was unlikely in view of the improvements pointed out by Cooper. If the upper die was prevented from turning by a square or hexagonal slider of some sort the Torque at the bottom of the screw would on striking have to be absorbed through the horizontal top of the upper die causing a very substantial twisting force on the die, its holder and the threads of the screw on each striking. This would cause a continuing distortion of the parts attempting to absorb the force. As Cooper pointed out the parts were not strong or heavy enough to prevent bending and twisting and would loosen the fittings. The dies would rotate somewhat if they were loosened by continued striking and the planchet would tend to rotate during striking. The apparent double striking or twisted striking result on each face was a common defect which made these presses unsatisfactory and impractical to use in Europe and in England particularly. The owners of the presses therefore had no use for them and wanted to get rid of them. When Hull needed a press I believe it is probable that such a defective screw press was readily available in England and gladly sold to Hull in Massachusetts. This is the only explanation I can think of which would result in the bulk of Willow Tree coinage having generally the same rotation defects.

The Willow Tree coinage was not great in quantity because it was obviously recognized as unsatisfactory. When Oak Tree coinage began after a long interval the rocker press which was apparently bought in Europe and not built in Massachusetts was a major improvement.

As you know Ken Bressett does not believe a screw press was used but I am hopeful he will consider any new thinking. After you reread the Cooper chapters and think about the matter further I would appreciate your comment.

The current ANS Magazine reviews your Hull book but the nit-picking criticism is unnecessary, unhelpful to the readers, and very poor public relations. Please brush aside the adverse comments and voyez tout en rose. Reviewers and readers often look for something to criticize to show how "superior" they think they are.

My best,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, consisting of a stylized, elongated shape that tapers to a point on the right side.

Eric P. Newman

Mr. Louis Jordan
Department of Special Collections
102 Hesburgh Library
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I have been researching other numismatic matters and wanted to get back to you again on the type of coin press which might have been used for the Willow Tree coinage.

I reread Cooper and found that Chapters 4 and 5 have extensive material on the screw press in addition to Chapter 6 which is specifically identified by a screw press title. I wrote to Cooper to ask him to clarify some matters but just learned that he recently passed away.

You indicated that I might be correct that a crude screw press might have been used. I am further convinced of that because of rereading Cooper. I had indicated that a screw press might have a top die which turned with the screw on striking. I now feel that that this was corrected long before 1652 and was unlikely in view of the improvements pointed out by Cooper. If the upper die was prevented from turning by a square or hexagonal slider of some sort the Torque at the bottom of the screw would on striking have to be absorbed through the horizontal top of the upper die causing a very substantial twisting force on the die, its holder and the threads of the screw on each striking. This would cause a continuing distortion of the parts attempting to absorb the force. As Cooper pointed out the parts were not strong or heavy enough to prevent bending and twisting and would loosen the fittings. The dies would rotate somewhat if they were loosened by continued striking and the planchet would tend to rotate during striking. The apparent double striking or twisted striking result on each face was a common defect which made these presses unsatisfactory and impractical to use in Europe and in England particularly. The owners of the presses therefore had no use for them and wanted to get rid of them. When Hull needed a press I believe it is probable that such a defective screw press was readily available in England and gladly sold to Hull in Massachusetts. This is the only explanation I can think of which would result in the bulk of Willow Tree coinage having generally the same rotation defects.

The Willow Tree coinage was not great in quantity because it was obviously recognized as unsatisfactory. When Oak Tree coinage began after a long interval the rocker press which was apparently bought in Europe and not built in Massachusetts was a major improvement.

Tuesday, March 04, 2003 America Online: EricNumis

Subj: **The Leslie Brock Center for the Study of Colonial Currency**
 Date: 3/4/2003 12:53:07 PM Central Standard Time
 From: [REDACTED]
 To: [REDACTED]
 CC: [REDACTED]
 Sent from the Internet ([Details](#))

Dear Eric,

I still owe you a letter on the Willow Tree Press. I was away for several weeks from late December through mid January assisting my ill brother. He had bile duct cancer and passed away while I was with him. I have been back for about six weeks and am just getting caught up! I hope to finish an essay on the historical context of Hogge money within the next two weeks. I had planned to have it ready after Christmas.

I shall send you a letter. However, in the meantime let me say I did reread the Cooper chapters and I do believe it is possible an early screw press could have been available to Hull. It is certain that such presses were used at the London mint during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Further, it is possible some of the errors seen on willow tree coinage could have been produced on a defective screw press. I still think it is also possible that a rocker press may have been used. In either event the Hull press certainly impressed defective coins!

On the Brock site - Leslie Brock died several years ago. A friend of his, who I believe is an emeritus professor of economics from Virginia, named Ronald Michener constructed the site in honor of his departed friend. Professor Michener told me he specializes in the economics of Massachusetts currency. The site consists of articles and books that are either out of copyright (such as the pamphlets and other contemporary writings sections as well as the several chapters from McFarland) or copyrighted essays for which Michener has permission to publish (this would include the Brock article, since Brock's wife gave him permission to use it) or items that are mounted at other sites. Your essay on the dollar is actually up on the Chicago Coin Club site (since the article was written for their Perspectives in Numismatics). There is just a link to it on the Brock site.

In the Brock site section "Suggestions for further reading" the second edition of your Early Paper Money text is cited. Also Phil's book is included. The comments on the bibliography make it clear that Leslie V. Brock, *The Currency of the American Colonies 1700-1764. A Study in Colonial Finance and Imperial Relations*. Arno Press, 1975, 602 pages is basically the Brock dissertation. However Brock wrote several additional chapters that were never published but are available in manuscript from the University of Virginia Library.

The site has been up for several years. Recently it was given a new URL.

All best,

Lou

Tuesday, March 04, 2003 America Online: EricNumis

Subj: Item 2
Date: 5/7/2007 3:47:28 PM Central Daylight Time
From: [REDACTED]
To: [REDACTED]

On May 6, 2007, at 4:15 PM, [REDACTED] wrote:

> Dear Lou:
> I enjoyed our recent telephone discussion and am following it with
> my inquiry on the above. These are the facts as I now know them.
> Daniel Fowle and his nephew Robert Fowle were engaged in the
> printing business and they split up in 1774 because Daniel was
> loyal to England and Robert favored independence. The bills of New
> Hampshire for the July 25, 1775 and August 24, 1775 issues were
> printed from set type and I do not know who printed them but it
> probably was Robert Daniel or someone operating their former
> business. Another emission was printed for the November 3, 1779
> issue with the same type and style of the prior issue. Only the 30s
> and the 40s of the denominations of that issue were counterfeited
> apparently using the same type fonts and ornaments as the genuine
> issues. Robert Fowle was arrested April 15, 1777 for counterfeiting
> and on June 17, 1777 the House of Representatives of NH ordered all
> bills issued in 1775 to be called in and redeemed. The differences
> between the genuine and the counterfeits of the 30s and 40s of the
> November 3, 1775 issue are so hard to distinguish that I am not
> sure of my prior work because slippage of type might have occurred
> and type position was my basis for distinguishing them. I tried to
> describe them in the Appendix of my 4th edition.
> There must have been newspaper or other publicity about the matter
> which I am unaware of. Phil has not informed me of any and I
> presume has not checked this matter. I am pressed for time for my
> 5th edition and I hope that you can find the answers. Who printed
> the issues, who made the counterfeits and were they made with the
> same type as the genuinely printed pieces. The newspapers in New
> Hampshire must have included this and probably the Massachusetts
> papers as well. Anything you can find would be wonderful. I will
> send a copy of this to Phil if that would be helpful.
> Please contact me if you need any more information I might have. I
> am very appreciative of your cooperation. My best as always.
> Eric
>
>
>
> See what's free at AOL.com.

THE
EXETER
OR,
New-Hampshire
AND
GENERAL

Third Year of American



Vol. II.]
JOURNAL
THE
GAZETTE,
TUESDAY
OVERLIER

DEPENDENCE

TUESDAY, March 16, 1779.

[No. 56.]

Intelligence from West-Indies.

The following Accounts of the Engagement between the French & English in the West-Indies, are taken from the Newport Mercury, of February 2d, 1779, printed by the enemy on Rhode, viz.

St. GEORGES, (Grenada) Dec. 26.

THE latest letters from Saint Lucia represent affairs there to be in the state we mentioned in our last. Count d'Estaing, notwithstanding the intrepidity he is said to possess, had not dared to attack Adm. Barrington, whose position has been considerably strengthened by additional batteries. The following sketch of the proceedings on both sides will serve to give a more just idea of the real situation of things than all the reports that have been lately circulated.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman, dated on board his Majesty's ship the Boyne, at the Grand-cul-de-sac, off St. Lucia, the 24th of Dec. 1778.

ON the evening of the 12, I failed with the fleet from Barbadoes, on an intended expedition against St. Lucia.

"The 13th made St. Lucia early in the morning, at 3 o'clock anchored with the whole fleet off Grand-cul-de-sac, a little to the south of the Carénage; most part of the troops landed that night, and took possession of the neighbouring heights without opposition.

"14th. The remainder of the troops were landed very early, marched up to the government house, situated on a very high hill between the Carénage and Grand-cul-de-sac; the troops had about two or two and a half miles to march through the woods, in a very dirty road. We got possession of the house in the forenoon; the French retired after spiking some pieces of cannon, and left our troops in possession of the government house, good barracks, hospital, and innumerable offices. At 4 o'clock this afternoon we were at dinner with the Admiral, when we observed a signal from the Ariadne (cruising to the windward) for a large Fleet; went on board our

respective ships which were immediately cleared for Action. Six of the transports as could be got into the Grand-cul-de-sac were got in with expedition, and it was intended to form a line with the seven line of battle ships, on the out side of them.

"15th. Saw the French Fleet close to us; but they fortunately kept manœuvring all the morning, which gave us an opportunity of getting most of the transports out of our way, and of forming in haste as good a line as we could do in the time, which stretched from east to west nearly. The French Fleet being obliged to come from the north, were exposed to be racked by all our ships in advancing; for which reason, so soon as they came within random shot, they bore away to the west, and laid their broadsides to ours. About 12 o'clock the French Admiral bore down in this way, and gave his fire mostly to the Boyne, as she appeared the largest ship; nine of his Fleet followed his example. The English Fleet did not wish to fire at so great a distance, but when there was no appearance of their coming nearer it was impossible to prevent the failors of the different ships from giving them a broadside. At a quarter after four the French Admiral came again with 11 ships of the line, all of which gave their fire as before to the English Fleet, and tacked about half past five; in this day's action some men were killed on board the Prince of Wales, & on board some of the transports. The Ariadne, which was amongst the transports, had her foremost half cut thro'; the Boyne was twice hulled, and had several shot in the rigging, but no body killed or wounded. The French had one ship disabled, by having her mast struck, several others had their rigging shattered.

"16th. The French Fleet was off all day; we expected a very furious attack; they came to an anchor at 5 o'clock, at a bay to windward of the Carénage.

"17th. We learn from the army that the French had landed a vast number of men in the night, & drove

in some of our out posts.

"18th. The French Fleet still at anchor; the French army attacked our grenadiers & light Infantry, who were very strongly posted under the command of Gen. Meadows, on a peninsula formed by the Carénage on the south, and the bay where the French landed in the north; the attack was spirited, and supposed to be made by 3000 French. Gen. Meadows had about 300 drawn up in three lines, one behind the other, on the face of a pretty steep and very ragged hill; the French were obliged to advance in columns at above 30 abreast on account of swamps, and a branch of the sea, which at one place contracts the communication from Gen. Meadows's post to the main land very much; in this situation the French in advancing were mowed down by our troops and beat back. They returned again with all the troops they could muster, said to be 7000 men, & were again repulsed, without ever forcing Gen. Meadows's first line. We had killed and wounded 130 amongst the first, a Captain Hay of the grenadiers; amongst the wounded, Gen. Meadows, slightly, Major and Lieut. Harris, and one or two other officers. The French had near 400 killed, and we may suppose wounded in proportion.

"24th. Since writing the above nothing worth mentioning has happened. The French Fleet are under way, and I am not certain whether or not they mean to attack us. We are much afraid the French have taken the Ceres. We took this morning a ship from Salem, named the Bunker Hill, full of men, mounting 18 six pounders.

NEW-YORK, (City) January 27.

A gentleman who had the perusal of an Antigua paper of the 10th of January, informs us, that it contains an account that Spain has commenced hostilities against Great Britain, by capturing two of her ships in the Mediterranean. The same paper adds, that so apprehensive are the inhabitants of Martinico of a visit from the British forces, that they are burying their plate, and carrying their most valuable effects to the interior parts of the island.

Good MOLASSES and SALT, to be exchanged for CORN or RYE, at the House of EBENEZER SWASEY, in Exeter.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 7, 1779.

The following Resolve of Council was lately presented by his Excellency JOSEPH REED, Esq. to his Excellency General WASHINGTON.

In COUNCIL, Philadelphia, Jan. 18.

WHEREAS the wisest, freest, and bravest Nations in their most virtuous times, have endeavoured to perpetuate the memory of those who have rendered their country distinguished services, by preserving their resemblances in statues and paintings. This Council, deeply sensible how much the liberty, safety, and happiness of America in general, and of Pennsylvania in particular, is owing to His Excellency General WASHINGTON, and the brave men under his command,

Do resolve, That his Excellency Gen. WASHINGTON be requested to permit this Council to place his Portrait in the Council Chamber, not only as a mark of the great respect which they bear to his Excellency, but that the contemplation of it may excite others to tread in the same glorious and disinterested steps, which lead to public happiness and private honour.

And that the President be desired to wait on his Excellency the General with the above request, and, if granted, to enquire when & where it will be most agreeable to him for Mr. Peale to attend him.

To which his Excellency Gen. WASHINGTON was pleased to return the following answer.

Head Quarters, Philadelphia, Jan. 20th, 1779.

Gentlemen,
THE liberal testimony of approbation which you did me the honor of transmitting by the hands of His Excellency the President, coming from so respectable an Assembly, cannot but make the deepest impression on my mind.

However conscious I am that your generous sensibility attributes infinitely too much to me, my respect for you leads me to acquiesce in your request, and gratefully to subscribe myself,

Gentlemen, your much obliged,
and most obedient Servant,

G. WASHINGTON,
To his Excellency Joseph Reed, Esq. President, and the Council of Pennsylvania.

Published by order of Council.
T. Matlack: Secretary.

PHILADELPHIA, February 22.

We are informed that pardons have been issued to 16 of the persons who were found guilty of high treason, and who received sentence of death at a Court of Oyer and Terminer lately held at Gloucester in New-Jersey. One other who had deserted from the American Service, and entered into

that of the enemy, was condemned at the same time, and was to have been executed yesterday.

Extract of a letter from Paris, dated November 18, 1779.

"The last advice from Alicante asserts, that a Proclamation had appeared there, directing the inhabitants to give every possible assistance, to all French and American ships of war, and to admit their prizes to be sold in all the Spanish ports: The Court of France is in hourly expectation of being joined by Spain at every step and preparation denoted in being just at hand. We have taken 34 of the English privateers, and have 7000 English in our prisons. A French ship of war has just taken two large English privateers or frigates, and carried them into Corsica. Two fleets are on the point of sailing, from Brest, on different Expeditions."

The attention of all ranks of people is fixed upon expectation of hearing the important intelligence, which, it is said, an august body received a few days ago, from abroad, and the contents of which, it is added, they are in honor and policy bound not to divulge at present. There are various reports about it, but the two following are all the Printer can get any particulars of for this publication. One is, that the Spaniards have acceded to the Independence of America, have agreed to assist France with 30 sail of the line, and lend the United States of America thirty millions of dollars, as they can better spare money than their troops at so great a distance. The other is, that the Dutch have agreed to supply the Americans with a considerable loan, which is to be guaranteed by France. Whatever be the intelligence, it is certain that the price of goods and hard money has fallen greatly since an express boat arrived last week; but what part the came from is also a secret.

This day hard money was offered at the rate of six for one, but was refused, the price being expected to be much lower in a short time.

This day a gentleman of rank and fortune gave another one thousand guineas, upon condition that he should give him five thousand pounds Continental money six months hence: Some private intelligence by Capt. Cunningham, who arrived yesterday in a short passage from Martinico, is said to be the occasion of this wager. It is a fact that Count D'Estaing has not suffered nearly so much as was reported. By the last accounts he was at Martinico, expecting to be reinforced by a combined fleet from France and Spain, consisting of ten ships of the line, and other vessels of an inferior rate. Admiral Byron was at St. Lucia, but had not thought proper to attack the Count.

T R E N T O N, February 24.

By three seafaring men who, on Wednesday evening last, made their escape from New York, and arrived here yesterday morning, the account of an embarkation from that place is confirmed, which they say is to consist chiefly of Hessians; who, it is given out are ordered to the West Indies, but it is generally supposed they are to be sent to Georgia. By the above persons we further learn, it was publicly talked of in New York, that Rhode Island is shortly to be evacuated, the Enemy having already destroyed their out works, and that one hundred and eighty privateers now sail out of the Port of New York.

NEW-LONDON, March 5,

We have certain intelligence, that the enemy on the East End of Long Island, are building a number of flat bottomed Boats, the Frames of which

were bro't from New York: We also learn that a reinforcement of 1500 men has lately arrived there from New-York; these operations make it evident that the enemy are meditating an expedition on the sea-coast of this State: Should it be on this port we are at present in a good condition to receive them.

Last week a large party of the enemy marched from King-bridge, as far eastward as Horse-neck; but were met with by our troops and repulsed with the loss of three killed, and 12 made prisoners.

Sunday evening a Brig laden with Salt was captured off this harbour by three privateers, and bro't into port.

Last Monday a Flag arrived here from New-York with 26 American prisoners in return for some lately sent (and what is very remarkable, they are all in good health). By the prisoners we learn that the principal inhabitants of New-York were about to remove to Great-Britain, despairing of a complete conquest of the Country this summer: *The stories are disgusting at their KING's like-warm Speech, which breathes neither Peace nor War.*

They also inform, that it was reported in New-York, that all Privateers had orders to go out and come into New-York through the sound, and not by Sandy-Hook, in order, as it is supposed, to compel them to cruize in the sound.

PROVIDENCE, March 6, 1779.

The House have ordered two Taxes to be assessed upon the inhabitants of this state, amounting to 150,000, and also voted a Brigade of 2500 men, to be immediately raised, to consist of 2 battalions of infantry, and a regiment of artillery.

A gentleman from the Westward informs, That more than half of the brave Troops which compose the GRAND ARMY, under the immediate command of his Excellency General WASHINGTON, have already re-embarked to serve during the War.

WILLIAMSBURG, January 29, 1779:

We hear General Lincoln has had an engagement with the enemy at Savannah, in Georgia; wherein about 300 men were slain on both sides. The militia were turning out briskly, and the General expected soon to be able to dislodge the enemy.

BOSTON, March 11, 1779.

It is now depended on that there has been an action in the Jerseys, between a large detachment of the British garrison from New York, and a party of our forces commanded by Gen. Maxwell: This affair has been variously reported;—the best account we can obtain is from an intelligent person who lately came from that place as a prisoner, and arrived here on Saturday.—He reports that the detachment from New York consisted of about 2000 pick'd men, all British Troops, among which were a large proportion of Highlanders.—That they landed on Jersey shore not far from Elizabeth Town, from 50 flat bottom'd Boats: That much dependence was placed in New York upon the manoeuvre and the expectations of the enemy very high.

respecting the success of it: That Admiral Gambler attended in person not far from the place of debarkation, and that Gen. Clinton chose a situation where he be a spectator of the manner in which his troops acquitted themselves, and the progress they made in the enterprise. General Maxwell, it is said, was apprized of the enemy's design, and took his measures accordingly. He allowed them to advance till they had past several of his out posts. They were then briskly attacked from several quarters, and soon thrown into confusion. Our troops improved the advantage, and eagerly pressed on the enemy, drove them back to their boats. Their loss was variously reported at New York. Great numbers of wounded were brought into that city after the action. The enemy, it is said, acknowledge 200 killed; other accounts in this city, make the amount 600. The British troops re-embarked in great confusion, and the tide being low when they reached their boats, they were much encumbered in the mud, and for a considerable time exposed to an hot fire from our brave men before they could get out of the reach of their Muskets. It is added; that we had taken from the enemy four pieces of cannon; which is probably all they landed. As this account comes from New York, we have no particulars of the loss on our side. It is supposed however, from the above circumstance, not to be great.

By the same conveyance we have Papers from New York to the 25th of February. They chiefly contain cull'd paragraphs from the London Ministerial papers, with some cooking of their own;—and puff on every circumstance that make in favour of the allies. From the London articles it appears that Admiral Palliser had been attacked in the papers upon account of his conduct under Keppel in the naval action with the Count D'Orvillers; and that he had published a particular vindication of himself; not so much to the advantage of the first British commander; and that both Keppel and Palliser are to be tried by a Court Martial, that Lord Sandwich from the beginning a violent stickler for the American war, had resigned his place as first Lord of the Admiralty; That Lord George Germain, who was brought in as the military Secretary for American Affairs, had declared, that if America was allowed to be independent, he would not hold his place for an hour. A strong implication that such a concession is now seriously tho't of in the British Parliament. From these accounts it is evident that the Ministry and their principal Props, are falling out among themselves. Notwithstanding which, and though Governor Johnstone complains in his speech of the want of union as one cause of the misfortunes of Britain, & the opposition in both Houses of Parliament is known to be greater than ever, yet Rivington's Royal (y-ling) Gazette has a face to affirm, that Britain is now united to a man against the Rebels.

It is now acknowledged, even in the above Gazette, that the conduct of the Dutch towards the Court of London is equivocal, and that it is uncertain what part they will take should the war continue, and become more general. The truth is; that the Dutch are determined to become carriers for France and Spain, and to enter into war with Britain; rather than give up such a commercial advantage. This is also the truth respecting Sweden and Denmark.

At the Honorable Superior Court held in this town last week, the following prisoners convicted of the several crimes of which they were charged; were sentenced as follows, viz. Isaac Fast, convicted of fraudulent practices, sentenced to pay a fine of 30l. for the use of the government & people of this State, stand publicly in the pillory the space of one hour, recognize for his good behaviour for twelve months, in the sum of 200l. with two sureties in the sum of 200l. each, pay costs of prosecution, and stand committed till sentence is performed. Simon Baxter, convicted of uttering & passing counterfeit Bills, knowing them to be counterfeit, sentenced to pay a fine of 90l. for the use of the State, pay treble damages to the person injured, suf-

fer six months imprisonment, sit one hour on the Gallows with a rope about his neck, pay costs of prosecution, and stand committed till sentence is performed. John Bowen, convicted of theft, sentenced that he received 20 stripes on his naked back at the public whipping post, pay three times the value of the goods stolen, and stand committed till sentence is performed. James Dennis, convicted of theft, sentenced to pay treble damages, that he receive 20 stripes on his naked back at the public whipping post, pay costs, and stand committed till sentence is performed.

Agreeable to the sentence of the Honble Superior Court, Simon Baxter, was last Friday set upon the gallows. He was afterwards retained to prison, there to suffer the remainder of the decree of Court aff'd to his atrocious crime.

Friday last arrived here a vessel, that loaded at Guadaloupe, and then proceeded to Martinico, from whence she made her passage here in 17 days. She came out of the last mentioned port with about 60 French, & 20 American trading vessels, under convoy of 4 French frigates; from whence it is evident that the Count D'Estaing could not be blockaded up at Martinico, as has been reported.

In the above vessel came dispatches addressed to the Spanish Ambassador at Philadelphia.

A letter from the southward, dat. Feb. 23, says, "I congratulate you on the good news from Spain, of their lending America sixteen ships of the line, and fifteen millions of money; and acknowledge our independence.

Four vessels, with valuable cargoes of West India produce, have lately arrived at Baltimore from Martinico.

Friday, the 12th of February, No. 24, 53, was drawn a prize of 20,000 dollars, in the United States Lottery.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman of distinction at Charlestown, S. C. to his friend in this Town, dated January 12th, 1779.

"You will see by the news-papers that the enemy are in possession of Savannah; and that our little army have retreated to the Carolina side. Gen. Lincoln has ordered matters so exceedingly well, that we shall soon have a force greatly superior to theirs. I think we shall have double their numbers, nor have I the smallest doubt but we shall drive them out of Georgia."

In a late New York paper is advertised a large quantity of counterfeit money to be disposed of very low; and that all those who have heretofore purchased the emissions prescribed by Congress, may come & get them exchanged.

EXETER, March 16, 1779.
Died at Kensington, the 5th of this instant, with a Paralysis, in the 61st Year of her Age, Mrs. ELIZABETH FOGG, Consort of the Reverend JEREMIAH FOGG.

TO BE SOLD
The following Lots of LAND

in old Chester, partly in the Parish of Raymond, and partly in the Parish of Candia, Lot No. 109—containing 100 Acres in the Nor. Div. or 1st part of sd Di. Lot No. 45—100 Acres in the 2d part of the second Division. Lot No. 30—80 Acres in the 3d Division. Lot No. 80—60 Acres in the 4th Division. Lot No. 46—40 Acres in the 5th Division. Lot No. 100—4 Acres a Meadow Lot.

The half of Lot No. 49—containing 100 Acres in the North Division, or 2d part of the second Division.

Lot No. 63—100 Acres in the second part of the second Division. Lot No. 27—80 Acres in the third Division. Lot No. 60—60 Acres in the 4th Division. Lot No. 44—40 Acres in the 5th Division. Lot No. 35—4 Acres a Meadow Lot.

And also the following Lots in Nottingham. A 200 Acre Lot—A 56 Acre Lot—and a ten Acre Lot. For further Particulars enquire at the Printing-Office, in Exeter.

State of New Hampshire.
PURSUANT to an Act of the GENERAL COURT of this STATE, will be sold at
Public Auction,

ON Thursday the 18th Day of March next, at ten of the Clock A. M. at Mr. Jonathan Gage's Tavern, in Dover, A large and valuable Collection of BOOKS, on various Subjects, viz. Divinity, Law, History, &c. Also, a quantity of MEDICINES, the IRON WORK, complete for a GRIST-MILL, almost new; a set of BLACKSMITH'S TOOLS, a number of JOINERS TOOLS, different sorts of SAWS, two fine Weather GLASSES, CROCKERY, WARE, and a number of other Articles, entered into, and taken possession of, as part of the Estate of John Wentworth, Esq. late Governor of this State, an Absentee. Conditions of Sale may be known at Time, and Place aforesaid.

JOSEPH BADGER, Commis.
CALEB HODGSON, do.
JOHN E. HANSON, do.

Dover, February 19th, 1779.
N. B. We suppose on examining the Library, that there is numbers of Books belonging to other Persons who may have them, by applying the Day before the sale, and making out them to be their Property. Likewise those Persons who have any Books belonging to the above Library, are desired to return them in, before the sale.

All Persons indebted to, or that have any demands on the Estate of DAVID GRIFFITH, late of Exeter, Goldsmith, deceased, are desired to bring in their Accounts to SARAH GRIFFITH, of said Exeter, in order for a speedy settlement.
Exeter, March 1st, 1779.

WHEREAS the Non-Resident Proprietors of the Town of Hollis, in the State of New Hampshire, have been legally notified to pay their Taxes: This is therefore to notify said Non-Resident Proprietors that unless they pay the following sums assessed to their Names, that so much of their Land will be sold at public Vendue, at the House of John Atwell, Inhabitant in Hollis, on Tuesday the 20th day of April next, at two o'clock in the afternoon, as will pay said Taxes with incidental Charges. The Names of the Delinquents are as follows.

In Constable CHAMBERLAIN'S List.
Names. 1. s. d.
Richard Oliver Prescott 7 12 10
James Ruffel, Esquire 3 3 0
Oliver Newell, or David Weatherly 3 3 6
In Constable FARLEY'S List. 1. s. d.
George Corwin 2 18 3
Captain Joseph Stimpely 3 10 6
Captain Joseph Kelley, or the Owners of Jonathan Edwards Lot. 3 1 3
Joseph Parkhurst 1 3 9

N. B. The above Tax is for the year 1778.
SAM'L CHAMBERLAIN,
CALEB FARLEY,
Constables for Hollis.

Hollis, March 12, 1779. 56-58
TO BE SOLD

A Lot of good LAND in Deerfield, containing about sixty Acres. Said Land lies near pleasant Pond. Enquire of Robert Light, of Exeter.

TO BE LET
SEVERAL Seats in a large commodious Wall-Pew, in the Reverend Mr. MANSFIELD'S Meeting House. Enquire of Samuel Robinson.
Exeter, March 15, 1779. 56 58

R A G S.
Six pence per pound is given for clean Cotton and Linnen RAGE, at the Printing-Office.

State of New-Hampshire, Rockingham sh.
The Non-Resident Proprietors
 of Canterbury, in said State and County who
 have not paid their Tax on their Land in
 said Town, for the Year 1777, are hereby
 notified that so much of their Land in said
 Town, will be sold at public Vendue at the
 house of David McCrillis, innholder in said
 Town, on Saturday the 20th day of April
 next, at ten o'clock in the Forenoon, as will
 pay said Taxes with incidental charges:

The delinquent's Names are as follows:
 The first Column is the forty Acre Lots.
 The 2d Column is the 1st hundred Acre lots.
 The 3d Column is the 2d hundred Acre Lots.

Names	s. d.	l. s. d.	s. d.
Abra. Bennick	3	2	
Benjamin York	3	2	
Joseph Smith	3	2	
James Gibben		11	3
Paul Wentworth	3	2	
John Allen	3	2	
John Rand		9	5
Gerishom Wentworth		5	8
Rich'd Wibbit, Esq.		15	0
Jona: Thompson		11	3
Stephen Jones			13
James Bafford	3	2	
Wm. Demeritt		6	10
Timothy Tibbets	4	5	
Samuel Hill		7	6
John Gray			1
John Plafied	4	5	
John York		1	2
Samuel Smith, jr.			15
Richard Jennings		9	5
Isaac Watson		15	0
Nathaniel Hill		18	9
Wm. Glines, jr.			1
Col. M. Hunking	3	9	
Rich. Waldron, jr.	3	9	
Joseph Jenkins	3	9	
Eli Clark	9	3	
Joseph Davis		6	10
John Wentworth	3	2	
John Ambler	3	2	
Israhel Hodgdon, jr.		11	3
Capt. J. Downing	4	5	
Jonathan Chesly		6	11
James Hanson			8
Peter Ware, Esq.	3	6	
John Carle	3	9	
Joseph Hufley	3	9	
Edward Evans			11
Job Bennets		6	11
George Jeffery, Esq.	2	3	
Thomas Rines		7	6
John Waldron	4	5	
James Keniston	3	2	
Joseph Evans	4	5	
Col. T. Westbrook		3	8
William Brooks	3	2	
James Davis, 3d		5	8
Henry Tibbets		15	0
James Jeffery		6	11
John Carter	4	4	
Governor Shute	2	3	
Common Land		2	1

DAVID FOSTER, Collector.
 Canterbury, March 9, 1779. 56--58

State of New-Hampshire.

Notice is hereby given, That
 the Inhabitants and Freeholders of the Town
 of New Britain, in the County of Hillsbo-
 rough, have petitioned the General Assembly
 of this state, setting forth, That they labour
 under many disadvantages on account of their
 not being legally incorporated with Town
 Privileges, and praying Leave to bring in a
 Bill for erecting said Township, and the In-
 habitants thereof into a Body politic & cor-
 porate, by the Name of Andover.— Upon
 which the said General Assembly, voted,—
 That the Petitioners be heard thereon, before
 them on the second Wednesday of their next
 session; and that in the mean time they cause
 the substance of the said Petition, and Order
 thereon, to be published three weeks suc-
 cessively in the New Hampshire Gazette, that
 any Person may then appear and shew cause

why the same thereof may not be granted.
 Attest, E. THOMPSON, Sec'y.
 Exeter, March 12, 1779. 56--58

Whereas the under-mentioned
 Proprietors Lands have heretofore been legal-
 ly notified for payment of the Tax due there-
 on for the Year 1778: This is therefore to
 give notice to such delinquent Proprietors or
 Owners of Land in Loudon, that so much of
 their Lands will be sold at Public Vendue at
 the House of Nathan Batchelder, Esq. in
 Loudon, on Thursday the 8th day of April
 next, at ten o'clock in the Forenoon, unless
 they pay the Tax with incidental charges to
 me the Subscriber before that time.

No.	Old hundred Acres	State	Parish
76	George Jeffery, Esq.	4	9
78	Francis Durgins	6	9
79	William Jenkins	5	9
97	Joseph Bomford	7	9
99	Samuel Smith	7	9
129	James Hannonston	6	9
132	Samuel Tilley	5	9
134	Thomas Willey	5	9
135	Jonathan Woodman	6	9
160	Capt. John Frost	5	9
168	Capt. Tho's Westbrook	6	9
169	Frances Matthes, jr.	4	11
No. 8	New Hundred Acres	s. d. q.	s. d. q.
72	Timothy Tibbets	7	8
75	Rich'd Waldron, Esq.	13	4
84	Thomas Davis	7	8
88	Samuel Sias	9	7
102	Paul Gerrish	6	9
107	Ephraim Dennet	7	8
118	Joseph Hallow	7	9
119	John Hafe	11	5
122	Eleazer Ruffel	4	10
126	Capt. John Odlorne	4	10
128	John Smith, jr.	8	8
130	Jacob Chesly	7	8
133	Joseph Tibbets	8	8
137	George Jeffery, Esq.	8	8
145	Thomas Tibbets	7	8
178	Ebenezer Ware	6	9
181	Robert Bomford	6	9
186	Rich'd Waldron, Esq.	6	9
	William Fellows	6	9
173	William Brooks	10	6
167	William Brooks	9	6

The common Land rated in Loudon 31 12s

JOSEPH TILTON, Constable.

Loudon, March 10, 1779. 56--58

Whereas the Non-Resident Pro-
 prietors of the Town of New-Chester, in the
 State of New Hampshire, have been legally
 warned to pay their Taxes; this is therefore
 to notify said proprietors or owners of land
 in said Town, that unless they pay said Taxes
 with incidental charges, to me the subscrib-
 er, so much of their Land will be sold at
 public Vendue at the House of Capt. Cutting
 Favour, innholder in said Town, on Thursday
 the 8th of April next, as will pay the Taxes
 with incidental Charges.—The Tax is for the
 year 1778.— The delinquent proprietors
 names are as follows, with the sums due.

Names	No. s. d.	Divi.	No. s. d.	Divi.	No. s. d.	Divi.	No. s. d.	Divi.
Arc. Dunlap	17	2	49	2	86	2	53	2
Sam'l Searls	23	2	43	2	9	2	9	2
Sam'l Searls	44	2					5	2
Sam'l Searls	21	2	65	2	9	2	7	2
Sam. Emerson	11	2					1	2
Arc. Dunlap	31	2	15	2	43	2	9	2
Arc. Dunlap	34	2	9	2	6	2	9	2
Blank Right	29	2			62	2	9	2
Joseph Clark	35	2					1	2
Wm. Parker			35	2			6	2
Alex. McCluer	70	2			58	2		
Blank Right			78	2	54	2	66	2
J. M'Murphy, Esq.	61	2	52	2				
Col. Moulton	58	2						
John Man			85	2	44	2	15	2

Grants farm, 500 Acres. No. 10. 1st Di. 11s.

JONATHAN INGALS, Constable.

New-Chester, March 10, 1779. 56--58

The Delinquent Proprietors or
 Owners of Land in the Township of New-
 Britain, so called, are hereby notified that
 unless they pay to me the Subscriber, Collec-
 tor for said Owners or Proprietors, the several
 sums of Money annexed to their Names as
 follows, on or before Wednesday the 7th of
 April next, otherwise so much of their Lands
 will be sold at public Vendue on said Day,
 at the Dwelling House of the Subscriber in
 said Town, as will pay said Tax with inci-
 dental Charges. The delinquent Proprie-
 tors or Owners are as follows:

Names	s. d.	l. s. d.	s. d.
Archelus Lakeman	8	0	
Mark Batchelder	9	0	
Amos Dwinel	9	0	
David Norton	4	6	
Law Lot the 2d	9	0	
Joshua Peirce	9	0	
Daniel Sanborn	8	0	
Tobias Lakeman	9	0	
Joseph Freicatt	9	6	
John Hoit	9	0	

N. B. The above Taxes is for the year

1778.

NATHANIEL EMERY, Collector.

New-Britain, March 10, 1779. 56--58

State of New-Hampshire, Grafton sh.

Whereas the under-mentioned

Proprietors Lands in the Town of NewDur-
 ham, have been legally notified to pay their
 Taxes for the year 1777: This is therefore
 to notify said Proprietors that unless they
 pay said Tax with incidental charges, on or
 before Thursday the 8th of April next, so
 much of their Lands will be sold at Public
 Vendue at the House of Thomas Pevey, inn-
 holder in Rochester, at ten o'clock in the
 Forenoon, as will pay said Tax with Charges.

The Delinquent's Names are as follows.

No. Names	s. d.	No. Names	s. d.
23 Nath'l Frost	10	65 J. Bickford	10
6 John Johnson	10	67 John Footman	10
15 Lem. Chesly	19	2 T. Stevenfon	4
70 Th. Wille, jr.	8	4	
72 Th. Paeker	19	2	
80 Joseph Sias	19	2	
85 Miles Randall	9	2	
81 Jos. Runals	19	2	
86 Soley & March	19	2	
2 Nis. Fereman	10	10	
17 John and	10	10	
Frances Durgins			

JAMES PALMER, Constable.

New-Durham, March 9, 1779. 56 58

State of New-Hampshire:

This is to notify the Non-Resi-

dent Proprietors and others, owning Land in
 Fitz-William, to pay their Taxes to me the
 subscriber, Collector for said Town, as is set
 forth in the List, within eight weeks from
 this date, or so much of their Land will be
 advertised for sale at public Vendue, as will
 pay said Tax with incidental charges; the
 sum of seven shillings, and nine pence, two
 farthings, on each lot of Land; said Tax is
 for the Year 1778.

STEPHEN HARRIS, Collector.

Fitz-William, March 11, 1779. 56--58

All Persons indebted for News-

Papers, Advertisements, &c. are desired to
 make immediate payment to the Printer
 hereof.—Warrantee, Quitclaim & Collectors
 Deeds for selling of Non-Resident's Lands,
 Probate Blanks, Justices Writs, with several
 other Articles, sold at the Printing-Office.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE

STATE JOURNAL, and GENERAL ADVERTISER.

[Vol. XXIV.]

MONDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1786.

[No. 1259.]

By His Excellency Sir HENRY CLINTON, Knight of the most Honorable Order of the Bath, General and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces within the Colonies lying on the Atlantic ocean, from Nova Scotia to West Florida, inclusive, &c. &c.

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS there are several deserters from the British and Foreign troops under my command, who are serving with the enemy, or are concealed in the Rebel Country, I have thought fit to issue this my Proclamation, offering a free and unlimited pardon to all such deserters, who shall surrender themselves to any of his Majesty's troops before the first day of November next.

And whereas there are many of his Majesty's European subjects at this time serving in the Rebel Army against their King and country, who, stung with remorse, and sensible of the heinousness of such an unnatural proceeding, would be anxious to return to their allegiance, did not their demerits, before their arrival in America, make them doubtful of meeting with protection and support within these lines. I do therefore hereby promise to all such who shall come in before the abovementioned first of November, in addition to the benefits, protection and support, to which they would be entitled under any Proclamations, to procure for them his Majesty's most gracious pardon, for all felonies and treason; (murder excepted) which they have heretofore been guilty of, provided they will take up arms in his service, and give their assistance to the quelling this unnatural Rebellion against his government.

Given under my hand at headquarters, in New-York, this 23^d day of Sept. 1786.

H. CLINTON.

By his Excellency's command,
JAMES SMITH.

THE above Proclamation of Sir H. Clinton is taken word for word from Rivington's New-York paper, of October 25, 1786, and we now challenge all the records of the most licentious and idle to produce its equal.

The first paragraph we admit. But in the second Sir Harry turns a Recruiting Sergeant, and that his Majesty's forces are in the field, and delivers I have put it into its true stile and meaning, viz.

"All you Gentlemen Volunteers, who have been transported from England for picking of pockets, house-breaking, horse-stealing, sheep-stealing, perjury, high-way robbery, and street-robbery. All you who ought to be hanged, and are not hanged. All you who desire to be hanged and will yet be hanged. All you who are too bad to live and not fit to die. All you whom the laws of your Country sent into banishment for being rogues and thieves, Come and shake hands with his most gracious Majesty. Come and join the Royal Standard of Great-Britain. Come and assist the Great Pick-pocket of England, George the Third, to pick the pockets of all America. And I do promise you, in addition to the benefits, protection and support you are entitled to by any other proclamation, to procure for you his Majesty's most gracious pardon for all the crimes and felonies for which you were transported, upon condition that from being thieves, you will turn Devils, and join George the Third."

Now, Sir Harry, do you feel no shame, no confusion of heart, or embarrassment of countenance in thus exposing the wretchedness of your cause. We know it is a bad one, and that none but pickpockets will join it; but are you not a fool to tell it yourself? How will you look in the eyes of Europe? How will you appear in your country, when it shall read under the sanction of your own name, that you are courting to your assistance the outcasts of your own nation, banished by your own laws, and by those very laws punished with death if they returned. Here they have committed no crime; it is against you and your laws only they are criminals.

Have you not published to Europe, have you not imposed upon your own nation, that the good and virtuous in America were your friends? That those good and virtuous were flocking to your standard, aiding your Councils & strengthening your arms? And now it appears that those good

& virtuous, O shame to your cause, are the pickpockets of London, the outcasts of St. Giles's, the rascals of the streets, and the scum of the fields.

O! what a fine market the Tories have driven their horses to. O! shame to human nature. Your friends, your worthy friends, who were not convicts, are now to keep company with transported pickpockets, foot-pads, house-breakers, horse-stealers, sheep-stealers, highway-robbers and street-robbers, and all this under the authority of Great-Britain.

Why, Gentlemen, Tories, Lady-Tories, Gentlemen Quakers, and Gentlemen who are not Quakers, do feel a little dignity for yourselves, do be above jacks of the Mint and Moll Trollops, for if one of you stir after this, by the Lord, all the world will say, that you went in consequence of this proclamation for vagabonds.

GOMM'S

NEW-PORRIS, Nov. 23, 1786.

At the Honorable Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize and general goal delivery, held in this place the last week, Samuel Dyer, Thomas Wilkham, & John Warren, were brought upon their trial, on certain bills of indictment found by the grand jury, and charging them with high crimes and misdemeanors, in having aided and assisted the King of Great-Britain, his fleets and armies, enemies of this and the United States, and being thereupon found guilty by the petit jury, they were sentenced by the Court to pay, as a fine to the use of this State, the said Samuel Dyer, the sum of 7000 Spanish mill'd dollars; the said Thomas Wilkham, 5000 Spanish mill'd dollars; and the said John Warren, 333 Spanish mill'd dollars, and to be imprisoned in the goal at Newport, the said Sam'l Dyer, and said Thomas Wilkham, for the space of six months; and the said John Warren, two months; to recognize each in the sum of ten thousand Spanish mill'd dollars, with two sufficient sureties to the Governor and Company of this State, conditioned for their demeaning themselves as good citizens of this State, during the present war; to pay all costs of prosecution & conviction, and to remain in custody until the sentence be performed.

THE CRISIS EXTRAORDINARY.

By the Author of COMMON SENSE.

It is impossible to sit down, and think seriously on the state of America, but the original principles on which she rested, and the glow and ardour they inspired, will occur like the undimmed remembrance of a lovely scene. To trace over in imagination the purity of the cause, the voluntary sacrifices made to support it, and all the various turnings of the war in its defence, is at once both paying and receiving respect. The principles deserve to be remembered, and to remember them rightly is repossessing them. In this indulgence of generous recollection, we become gainers by what we seem to give, and the more we give, the richer we become.

So extensively right was the ground on which America proceeded, that it not only took in every just liberal position which could impress the heart, but made it the direct interest of every class and order of men to defend the country. The war, on the part of Britain, was originally a war of covetousness. The sordid and not the splendid passions gave it being. The fertile fields and prosperous industry of America appeared to her as mines of tributary wealth. She viewed the hive and disregarded the industry that had enriched it, hurried for the honey. But in the present stage of her affairs, the violence of temper is added to the rage of avarice; and therefore, that which, at our first setting out, proceeded from purity of principle and public interest is now heightened by all the obligations of necessity; for it requires but little knowledge of human nature to discern what will be the consequence, were America again reduced to the subjection of Britain. Uncontrolled power, in the hands of an incensed, imperious, and rapacious conqueror, is an engine of dreadful execution; and were it to that country over which it can be exercised. The names of whig and tory would then be sunk in the general term of rebel; and the oppression, whatever it might be, would, with very few instances excepted, light equally on all.

Britain did not go to war with America for the sake of dominion, because she was then in possession; neither was it for the extension of trade and commerce, because she had monopolized the whole, and the country had yielded to it; neither was it to extinguish what she might call rebellion, because before she began, no resistance existed. It could then be from no other motive than avarice, or a design of establishing, in the first instance, the same taxes in America as are paid in England (which, as I shall presently show, are above eleven times heavier than the taxes we now pay for the year 1780) or in the second instance, to confiscate the whole property of America, in case of resistance and conquest, of the latter of which she had then no doubt.

I shall now proceed to show what the taxes in England are; and what the yearly expence of the present war is to her—what the taxes of this country amount to, and what the annual expence of defending it effectually will be to us; and shall endeavour concisely to point out the cause of our difficulties, and the advantages on one side, or the consequences on the other, in case we do, or do not, put ourselves in an equal state of defence. I mean to be open, candid, and sincere. I see an universal wish to expel the enemy from the country, a murmuring because the war is not carried on with more vigour, and my intention is to show, as shortly as possible, both the reason and the remedy.

The number of souls in England (exclusive of Scotland and Ireland) is seven million, and the number of souls in America is three millions.

The amount of the taxes in England (exclusive of Scotland and Ireland) was, before the present war commenced, eleven millions six hundred and forty-two thousand six hundred and fifty-three pounds sterling; which, on an average, is no less a sum than one

This is among the highest number that the people of England have born, or can be raised at

pound thirteen shillings and three pence sterling per head per annum, men, women and children; besides country taxes; taxes for the support of the navy, and a tenth of all the produce of the soil for the support of the bishops and clergy. Nearly five millions of this sum went annually to pay the interest of the national debt, contracted by former wars, and the remaining sum of six millions six hundred and forty-two thousand six hundred pounds was applied to defray the yearly expence of government, the peace establishment of the army and navy, placement, pensioners, &c. consequently, the whole of her enormous taxes being thus appropriated, she had nothing to spare for of them to wards defraying the expences of the present war, or any other. Yet had she not been in debt at the beginning of the war, as we were not, and like us had only a land and not a naval war to carry on, her then revenue of eleven millions and a half pounds sterling would defray all her annual expences of war and government within each year.

But this not being the case with her, she is obliged to borrow about ten million pounds sterling yearly, to prosecute the war she is now engaged in (this war she borrowed twelve) and lay on new taxes to discharge the interest; and allowing that the present war has cost her only fifty millions sterling, the interest thereof at five per cent will be two millions and a half, therefore the amount of her taxes now must be fourteen millions, which on an average is no less than forty shillings per head, men, women and children, throughout the nation. Now as this expence of fifty millions was borrowed on the hopes of conquering America, and as it was avarice which first induced her to commence the war, how truly wretched and deplorable would the condition of this country be, were she, by her own remissness, to suffer an enemy of such a disposition, and so circumstanced, to reduce her to subjection.

I now proceed to the revenues of America. I have already stated the number of souls in America to be three millions, and by a calculation I have made, which I have every reason to believe is sufficiently right, the whole expences of the war, and the support of the several governments, may be defrayed for two million pounds sterling annually; which, on an average, is thirteen shillings and four pence per head, men, women and children, and the peace establishment at the end of the war, will be but three quarters of a million, or five shillings sterling per head. Now throwing out of this question every thing of honor, principle, happiness, freedom and reputation in the world, and taking it up on the simple ground of interest, I put the following case:

Suppose Britain was to conquer America, and as conqueror was to lay her under no

The following is taken from Dr. Price's State of the taxes of England, page 95, 97, 98.

An account of the money drawn from the public by taxes annually, being the medium of three years before the year 1776.

Amount of customs in England,	£ 25,287,5
Amount of the excise in England,	4,648,892
Land tax at 3s.	1,300,000
Land tax at 1s. in the pound,	450,000
Salt duties,	218,739
Duties on stamps, cards, dice, advertisements, bonds, leases, indentures, newspapers, almsbooks, &c.	280,785
Duties on houses and windows,	385,669
Post Office, ferries, ways, licenses, hackney coaches, &c.	250,000
Annual profits from lotteries,	150,000
Expence of collecting the excises in England,	297,887
Expence of collecting the customs in England,	468,703
Interest of loans on the land tax at 4s. expences of collection, militia, &c.	250,000
Perquisites, &c. to custom-house officers, &c. supposed,	250,000
Expence of collecting the salt duties in England, 10d. a 2 per cent.	27,000
Bounties on fish exported,	18,000
Expence of collecting the duties on stamps, cards, advertisements, &c. 5 and 1-4 per cent,	18,000

Total, £ 11,642,653

other conditions than to pay the same proportion toward her annual revenue, which the people of England pay, our share in that case would be six million pounds sterling yearly; can it then be a question, whether it is best to raise two millions to defend the country, and govern it ourselves; and only three quarters of a million afterwards, or pay six millions to have it conquered, and let the enemy govern it?

Can it be supposed that conquerors would chuse to put themselves in a worse condition than what they granted to the conquered? In England the tax on rum is five shillings and one penny sterling per gallon, which is one silver dollar and fourteen coppers. Now would it not be laughable to imagine, that after the expence they have been at, they would let either whig or tory in America drink it cheaper than themselves? Coffee, which is to considerable an article of consumption and support here, is there loaded with duties, which makes the price between five and six shillings sterling a pound, and a penalty of fifty pounds sterling on any person detected in roasting it in his own house. There is scarce an article of life you can eat, drink, wear or enjoy, that is not there loaded with a tax; even the light from Heaven is only permitted to shine into their dwelling, by paying eighteen pence sterling per window annually; and the humblest drink of life, small beer, cannot there be purchased without a tax of nearly two coppers a gallon, besides a heavy tax upon the malt, and another upon the hops, before it is brewed, exclusive of a land tax on the earth which produces them. In short, the condition of that country in point of taxation is so oppressive, the number of her poor so great, and the extravagance and capriciousness of the court so enormous, that were they to effect a conquest of America, it is then only that the distresses of America would begin. Neither would it signify any thing to a man whether he be what we call a whig or a tory. The people of England and the ministry of that country know us by no such distinctions. What they want is clear, solid revenue; and the modes they would take to procure it would operate alike on all. Their manner of reasoning would be short, because they would naturally infer, that if we were able to carry on a war of five or six years against them, we are able to pay the same tax which they do.

I have already stated, that the expence of conducting the present war, and the government of the several States, may be done for two millions sterling, and the establishment in time of peace for three quarters of a million.

As to navy matters, they flourish so well, and are so well attended to in the hands of individuals, that I think it consistent, on every principle of real use and economy, to turn the navy into hard money, (keeping only three or four packets) and apply it to promote the service, &c. the army. We shall not have a ship the less, the use of them, and the benefit from them, will be greatly encreased, and their expences saved. We are now allied with a formidable naval power, from whom we derive the assistance of a navy. And the time in which we can prosecute the war, so as to reduce the common enemy, and benefit the alliance, most effectually, will be by attending closely to the land service.

I estimate the charge of keeping up and maintaining an army, officering them, and all expences included, sufficient for the defence of the country, to be equal to the expence of forty thousand men, at thirty pounds sterling per head, which is one million two hundred thousand pounds.

I likewise allow four hundred thousand pounds for Continental expences at home and abroad.

I have made the calculation in sterling, because it is a rate generally known in all the States, and because likewise it admits of an easy comparison between our expences to support the war and those of the enemy. Four silver dollars and one half is one pound sterling; and three pence over

Scheme of a Lottery,

GRANTED by an Act of the General Court of the State of New Hampshire, 9th November, 1780, to raise Money for repairing and supporting STRATHAM & NEWMARKET LOTTERY BRIDGE, (so called) in said State, wherein Capt. HUBARTUS NEAL, Major MARK WIGGIN, SIMON WIGGIN, Esq; JOSIAH ADAMS, Esq; and Mr. WENTWORTH CHESWELL, are appointed Managers, and sworn to the faithful Discharge of said Trust.

The FIRST CLASS contains 8000 Tickets, at two Dollars per Ticket, of the new Emission of Continental Money, 3075 of which are Prizes of the following Value, viz.

No.	Dol.	Dol.
1 of 500	is	500
2	100	200
4	50	200
6	40	240
20	30	300
12	25	300
40	10	400
100	5	500
2000	4	11000

The first Number drawn is 40
Bounty of
The last Number drawn is 169
Bounty of

Remains for the Bridge 14340
1660

Total Dollars, 16000

The absolute Necessity of having said Bridge immediately repaired, and the small Number of Tickets in this Class, give the Managers Reason to hope for such a speedy Sale of said Tickets as to enable them to draw this Class soon enough to contract for the necessary Materials to be procured the ensuing Winter; as the present Temporary Repairs, cannot be expected to answer any longer than till next Spring.

The old as well as new Emission of Continental Money will be received at the usual Rate of forty for one.

Seasonable Notice of Time and Place of Drawing will be given, and a List of Prizes published in some public News-Paper in this State.

Benefit Tickets will be duly paid in twenty Days at the Lottery Office, near said Bridge, and Notice given of the Days of Attendance for that Purpose.

Prizes not demanded in twelve Months from the Time of Drawing, are not to be demanded afterwards, but deemed given to the Use of the Bridge, and applied accordingly.

November 23, 1780.
ALL Persons who have Demands against the Estate of Joseph Wills, late of Portsmouth, deceased, Intestate, are desired to exhibit the same to James Gooch, of Portsmouth, Administrator de Bonis, &c. And all Indebted to said Estate, are requested to make speedy payment.
Portsmouth, Nov. 25, 1780.

Just Published,

And may be had at the Printing Office, in Exeter.

SERMON,

PREACHED AT EPPING.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

LORDS DAY September 19, 1779.

By JOSIAH STEARNS,
Pastor of a Church, there.

SUBSCRIBERS for the above SERMON, are desired to call on DAVID LAWRENCE, Big or Mr. SIMON DEARBORN, in Epping, and receive their Books.

Just Published,

And now falling by Wholesale and Retail, By JOHN CARTER, at the Post Office in Providence.

The American Latin Grammar,

or, a complete Introduction to the Latin Tongue. Formed from the most approved Writings of this Kind, as those of Lilly, Goddeman, Phillips, Holmes, Bishop Wettesthall, Chamer, Clarke, Read, &c. originally compiled by the Rev. Mr. Rolfe, revised and corrected in former Editions by the late Presidents Burr, Flaley, and others; and now republished for the Use of the Grammar Schools throughout the United States.

"The American Latin Grammar, originally compiled by the Rev. Mr. Rolfe, with further Improvements and Illustrations, is hereby recommended as excellently calculated for the general Use of the Schools.

James Manning, President of Rhode Island College.

Extra Sales, President of Yale College.

David Hoel, Fellow of Rhode Island College.

Providence, October 1780.

Doctor G. WOOD,

Gives Advice, gratis, from nine o'Clock in the Morning to twelve at Noon, every Wednesday, in all Physical and Chirurgical Cases, at his Dwelling, House in Stratham.

TO BE SOLD,

At NOTTINGHAM SQUARE,

West-India and New-England

Rum, Molasses, Sugar, Tea, Coffee, Cotton-Wool,

Foreign Salt, Pepper, Allspice; and a Variety of

ENGLISH GOODS.

ALL persons that have any demands against the estate of Major ANDREW McCARY, late of Epfom, deceased, are desired to bring in their claims to ELIZABETH McCARY, Administratrix to said estate, in order for settlement. And those persons who are indebted to said estate, are requested to make speedy payment; otherwise they must expect to suffer the consequence without further notice.

ELIZABETH McCARY, Administratrix, Epfom, November 22, 1780.

LOST last Wednesday, a LEATHER FOLK P BOOK, in the Town of Portsmouth, in which was about 400 Dollars, and a number of papers. Whoever finds said Book, Papers, &c. and returns them to Ichabod Warren at Exeter, or the Printer at Portsmouth, shall receive Fifty Dollars Reward. Portsmouth, November 17, 1780.

Found a Deed not recorded,

From Goodwin to Hoggan, left with the Printer at Portsmouth, of whom the Owner may have again, paying for this Advertisement.

Rock Salt, to be sold for Cash,

or exchanged for Beef, Pork, or Red Oak Shovel Heads. Enquire of J. Pabst.

Portsmouth, Nov. 11, 1780.

Several Lots of Land to be sold,

in Wolfborough and other Places; Enquire at the Printing Office in Portsmouth.

ALL persons that are indebted to, or have any Demands on the Estate of Demarius Wheelwright, of Portsmouth, deceased, are desired to bring in their Accounts to John Wheelwright, Administratrix, for Settlement. Portsmouth, Octob. 31, 1780.

WANTED,

A small Iron STOVE,

for which a reasonable Price will be given. Inquire at the Printing Office, Exeter.

TO BE SOLD,

By SPENCE AND SHERBURN,

At their Store on Spring Hill, Portsmouth,

WEST INDIA and EUROPEAN GOODS,

Consisting of

SCARLET and other color'd Broad Cloths; Lambkins, Baizes, Frizes, Rattons, Sheet, Red, Blanket, Dublin, Vandyke, Cambric, Embellished, Duran, Calicoes, Perfum, Irish and German Linens, check, Linnens, Deeds, Red Tick, sheetings, Nankeens, Buckram, Calico, Cotton and Worsted Hosiery, Womens Socks, Gloves, Cuffs and Silk Handkerchiefs, quality and fine Broad in white and color'd, Throats, Tapes, Laces, Ribbands, (sewing Silks) Caps, Hats, writing and pack Paper, paper Hangings, Pewder and Shot, London Pewter, black and Tea Pots, Tab' and Tea Spoons, Latches, Locks, Warming Pans, Ironing Dishes, Shovels and Tongs, Hearth and Clothed Bricks, Window Glasse, Nails, Staves, Crackery WARE, STARCH, RAISINS, BUTTER, and other Groceries, RUM, Sugar, Molasses, Coffee, Cotton and Chocolate, &c. &c. Salt, Tea, &c. &c. N. B. Pot and Pearl Ashes, Tins, Wax, and Flax Seed taken in at said Store.

To be sold at Public Vendue

On Wednesday the 19th of December Instant, at Ten o'Clock P.M. on the Wharfe of George Washington.

The Prize Brig COOPER,

of about 100 Tons, British built, three years old.

A. L. O.

The Prize Brig MANERVA,

Of about 120 Tons, British built. Invenient to be seen at the time and place of sale. Likewise three CANNON, two pounders, with their carriages, &c. Four Brads Swivel; a number of Casks of French WINES, some Cordage, Train Oyl, &c. A quantity of Jamaica Fish; some Glass and Earthen Ware in Lots. Also, a small parcel of Bagging Goods, amongst which are; Moss and Boys Hats; some Military Chains, broad Cloths, Coates, Velvets, Callimaries, Gold Lace, Laitings, &c. &c.

ALL Persons having Accounts upon Wills, or Demands against the Estate of Joseph Simms, late of Portsmouth, Painter, deceased, are desired to call and settle the same with Ann Simms, and John Simms, Administrators, Portsmouth, Dec. 1, 1780.

Cash Given by JOHN GOOCH,

of Portsmouth, for old pewter, brass, or copper: OR, ONE POUND OF NEW PASTER, FOR TWO POUNDS OF OLD; — WHO, MARKS AND Sells all kinds of NEW PASTER.

ALL Persons Indebted to, or that have Demands on the Estate of Peter Cushing, late of Dover, deceased, are desired to bring in their Accounts to Mary and Thomas Cushing, Administrators to said Estate, in order for a speedy settlement, at the late Dwelling House of the deceased in Dover.

Dover, November 30, 1780.

TO BE SOLD,

By PEIRSE LONG,

Near the South Meeting House, SCARLET and Chocolate Broad Cloths, with Trimmings to suit the same. The best of Irish Linens. An Assortment of Cutlery and other Hard Ware. Silk Handkerchiefs of sundry Qualities. Laitings. Mode-Pelling. Ribbons. Gauzes. Queens Craze. Silk Hosiery. Nutmegs. Sewing Silks. Calicoes, &c. &c. Likewise, West-India RUM by the Hoghead or smaller Quantity. Sugar. Molasses. Cotton. and Coffee — which he will sell for hard Cash, or Paper Money of either of the Emissions. Portsmouth, October 18, 1780.

Choice Rock, and other Salt,

To be sold by James Hickey in Portsmouth, for Continental Bills, or Corn, &c.

THIS is to certify any Persons from trusting Joseph Cooper, formerly the Wife of me the subscriber, on my account, as I am determined not to pay any Debt she may contract at any time. Phillip Cooper.

Portsmouth, November 15, 1780.

A WOMAN with a good breast of Milk, and a Child, would go into a Family for half year.

Enquire at the Printing office in Portsmouth.

Watches Repaired, And cleaned in the best manner, by Samuel Place, Goldsmith, in Portsmouth.

Subj: **Re: Masathvsets**
 Date: 5/5/2009 9:45:26 A.M. Central Daylight Time
 From: [REDACTED]
 To: [REDACTED]

Phil,

I preparing a lecture on medieval manuscripts that I shall be delivering on Thursday at a conference, so I cannot check the Hull ledgers right now but will get to it early next week. During the 17th century, and particularly in America, spelling variations were common. Indeed, I noticed that Hull usually spelled money as mony, but sometimes used money. In my book in figure 37 you will see August 23 "by mony sent..." then directly below dated 1673 october 25 "by money,," there are also other instances of "money" as in figure 38, nest to the last line (also see his use of country and countrey). The consistent lack of doubling the S or the T may be due to space issues. Noe's idea that the spelling is uncustomary and would require some authority seems to me to be more of a 20th century concept that something from the mid 17th century. In the wake of Webster (authoritative dictionaries) and widespread we have a far more regimented view of spelling than earlier centuries. I have also noticed spelling differentiations were far more common in vernacular languages than in Latin. Another point - We should also be aware that Sanderson probably engraved several, if not most, of the dies and that some (particularly those with inverse or backward letters) may be the work of an apprentice. So the spelling man not be solely attributed to Hull.

I recall there is an article on the earliest surviving specimens of the colonial seal that might have some information of the spelling of Massachusetts Bay.

Lou

On May 5, 2009, at 9:52 AM, [REDACTED] wrote:

Hi Eric and Lou:

I'm back to work full steam ahead on my counterfeit book with some fine tuning. I ran into something of interest with the fake Mass pine tree, Noe - I, MASSATVSETS] which started me checking out Hull's spelling of Massachusetts, which he rendered as MASATHVSETS. This seemed to bother Noe also who discusses it on pp. 34-36 of his NE and Willow Tree Monograph, No. 102.

It would appear that the earliest spellings in the 1629 charter referred to the land "comonlie called MASSACHUSETTS, alias MATTCHUSETTS, alias MASSATUSETTS BAY." I assume the U was then written V - but that is a style issue, not an orthographic variant. Apparently MASSACHVSETTS was the first choice of spelling in 1629. On the colonial seal it was MATTACHUSETTS. In Civil War days, I found reference to the "Fifty-fourth Regiment of Masachusetts Volunteer Infantry," one S.

So why did Hull use MASATHVSETS? According to Noe, the use of a single S and single T as in MASATHVSETS was the style consistently used by Noe in all diaries. Noe suggests that Hull would not have used that uncustomary spelling on his coins without some authority. So what was the authority and where did he find it? Maybe it was a spacing issue?? At least he was consistent. The T for the CH was a commonly used and acceptable substitution.

Any thoughts? This has nothing to do with counterfeiting - but just an exercise in serendipity!

Best,
Phil

Remember Mom this Mother's Day! [Find a florist near you now.](#)

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Subj: **Re: Masathvsets**
 Date: 5/5/2009 1:03:59 P.M. Central Daylight Time
 From: [EricNumis](#)
 To: [REDACTED]

Dear Lou: Your comment to Phil is appreciated that Sanderson engraved many of the dies for the Mass silver or one of his apprentices did, causing some of the inverse lettering. What is the basis of your statement other than Hull was not skilled or involved in the die preparation? I am studying this problem at present and believe that the lettering mistakes were easily made because the letter cutting was being worked upside down. A swinging compass part or centering pin may have been still in place when the cutting was done instead of a circular mark having been drawn or scraped on the die face in order to help place the letters in circular position. Perhaps it was more convenient or more room for one's hands to cut in the circular form by cutting from the outside. This may have confused the cutter as to letter formation because he had to cut from the outside in instead of from the inside out and therefore thinking upside down in addition to concentrating on right to left.

My best to you. Eric.

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Phil,

I preparing a lecture on medieval manuscripts that I shall be delivering on Thursday at a conference, so I cannot check the Hull ledgers right now but will get to it early next week. During the 17th century, and particularly in America, spelling variations were common. Indeed, I noticed that Hull usually spelled money as many, but sometimes used money. In my book in figure 37 you will see August 23 "by many sent..." then directly below dated 1673 october 25 "by money,," there are also other instances of "money" as in figure 38, next to the last line (also see his use of country and countrey).

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Any thoughts? This has nothing to do with counterfeiting - but just an exercise in serendipity!

Best,
Phil

Remember Mom this Mother's Day! [Find a florist near you now.](#)

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A Good Credit Score is 700 or Above. [See yours in just 2 easy steps!](#)

Subj: **Re: checking**
 Date: 5/31/2009 8:13:40 P.M. Central Daylight Time
 From: [EricNumis](#)
 To: [REDACTED]
 CC: [PLMossman](#)

Dear Phil and Lou;

I am wondering whether the use of the long s was sometimes different in America than in England. It also might have been used in any fashion the American engraver or typesetter determined since any form was acceptable regardless of customary rules in any area.

In 1749 when a shipment of money was sent from England to Massachusetts the full detail was copied by Crosby on page 228. Crosby copied punctuation very carefully. He obviously copied from the Massachusetts records and you will note that a space is used to divide L, s, and d as well as a slash instead of any s in another place. This was a very complex record and is very important to me because it gives me data on how many copper coins were in a cask.

Perhaps inconsistency was consistent.

Eric

In a message dated 5/31/2009 6:31:13 P.M. Central Daylight Time, ljordan@nd.edu writes:

Phil and Eric,

For the Dec 1690 I notice in the word possessor, the first combination is done correctly long s then regular (or round) s, but the next combination has two regular s's, while Massachusetts has all long s's!

The Feb 1690/1 uses all long s's in both words! The 1702 is a counterfeit note (so it may not precisely follow official issue but I can't say for sure) but it does follow the rule of a double s having a long s followed by a regular s in both words. (this note and several other issues were on copper plate so the letters are engraved, not typeset, thus the variety of s is up to the engraver). However, the 1722 small change note uses gothic type, while 1737 2d small change uses italic, in both instances it may be that the printed only had a single variety of s in the necessary size and font type (only the long s); while the 1d denomination has Massachusetts Bay in small capitals, which would not include the long s.

Look at the Jan 1741/2 2d note (which is on copperplate) - it has possessor with two long s's at the first doubling then a long s followed by a regular s in the second doubling! Massachusetts is all in capitals this there is no long s (but the final s is very small due to spacing problems).

Clearly, type font availability is a consideration, the use of all capitals or small capitals for Massachusetts is another factor and personal preference also is a factor. The use of the long s may not be a requirement; clearly in some cases as "possessor" in the Dec 1690 and Jan 1741/2 first doubling uses the long s but the second doubling does not!

Lou

From: [REDACTED]
 Sent: Sunday, May 31, 2009 4:56 PM
 To: [REDACTED]
 Cc: Louis Jordan
 Subject: checking

Dear Eric:

I'm finally gaining closure on my counterfeit opus. A question arose about the Mass Dec. 10, 1690 issue on p. 184 of your 5th edition.

It appears to me that this is the oldest surviving genuine bill since all the next issue of Feb. 3, 1690-91 are altered. Is this assumption correct?

Subj: **Fwd: Mott Token**
 Date: 9/28/2009 2:46:07 P.M. Central Daylight Time
 From: [REDACTED]
 To: [REDACTED]
 CC: [REDACTED]

Dear Eric,

I hope you are well. Today some new evidence has come to my attention that the Mott family watch business was established in 1789. Back in the summer 1988 *Rare Coin Review* you suggested further research was needed to find Mott clock and watchmakers in New York. In looking through a copy of the 1834 New York City Register, that happened to be available in his daughter's library, you discovered James S. Mott and Jordan Mott as clock and watchmakers and suggested someone should systematically look through all the directories from 1789 onwards to clear up this problem. Angel Pietri, "The Mott Token Revisited," *The C4 Newsletter*, vol. 6, no. 3 (Fall, 1998) 25-43, took this up but was only able to trace the firm back to 1796. A watch collector saw the discussion of this token on the ND website and wrote to me that he had an advertisement stating that the firm was established in 1789. The paper is enclosed at the bottom of this e-mail. You can also read the transcription below in the letter I sent to Gary. This finally clears up why the date 1789 was used on the token. It is not a date of issue, or a commemoration of the constitution, but as you suspected all along, it is the date of the founding of the Mott watchmaker business. I thought you might want to know.

All best,

Lou

Begin forwarded message:

From: Louis Jordan [REDACTED]
Date: September 28, 2009 3:25:02 PM EDT
To: Gary Trudgen [REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: Mott Token

Gary,

Here is a reply from Thomas Brown along with a scan of the watch paper.

He would like a copy of the CNL. Let me know if the attached scan come through. There may be two copies.

Apparently the paper was placed in a watch that had been made in London in 1812-13. Tom suspects the watch was then sent to the Mott firm in New York and the watch was sold to someone who lived in the area of New London, CT.

The central legend on the paper reads:

JAMES S.MOTT
 Son of
 Jordan Mott
 Established 1789
 Clock & Watch
 Maker
 Pearl 266 Street
 Corner of Fulton Str.
 New York

Outer rim legend: Patent Lever's & English Watches, Jewelry & Silver Ware. The same guaranteed.

Inner rim legend: Importers Levers & English Watches [Direct] from the Liverpool & London Factories.

This paper is our first evidence that Jordan Mott watchmaker, established his business in 1789. Previously, Angel Pietri had been able to trace the firm back to 1796. It also confirms that James Striker Mott was his son.

Angel Pietri, "The Mott Token Revisited," *The C4 Newsletter*, A quarterly publication of the Colonial Coin Collectors Club, vol. 6, no. 3 (Fall, 1998) 25-43. Here is my summary of Angel's discussion of the firm.

"Pietri explained Jordan Mott was first listed in the New York City Business Directory in 1796 then during 1797-1801 he was associated with the firm of Mitchell & Mott at 247 Pearl Street. However, he also had separate listings in 1798 at 104 Gold Street and in 1802-1803 at 39 Frankfort Street. In 1804 Jordan joined the cabinetmaker Jacob Morrell as Mott & Morrell at 247 Pearl Street. This partnership continued until Morrell died in 1808, in 1809 Morrell's widow is listed with Mott. Then Jordan is listed by himself until 1831 when he took on J.S. Mott (presumably his son James Stryker Mott). In 1835 the company was listed as J & Jordan Mott, Jr., with James S. Mott listed at another location (after 1835 James S. disappears from the register). Jordan Mott, Sr. died in 1840."

Begin forwarded message:

From: THOMAS BROWN [REDACTED]
Date: September 28, 2009 2:55:18 PM EDT
To: Louis Jordan [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Mott Token

Hello Lou

I have attached a copy of the watch paper from James S. Mott, I am still doing more research on him. His name was James Stryker Mott, his father was Jordon Mott who was born in 1768 in New York, James' mother was Lavinia Winifred Stryker.

If you do publish the watch paper if possible I would like to purchase a copy of the Newsletter.

If you need a higher resolution image I can send it to you.

Also just for reference, the watch this paper was in was made in London in 1812-1813, I believe it was then sent to the Mott business & then sold to someone who lived in the area of New London Ct., the watch had additional watch papers for watchmakers in New London showing the watch was serviced in the 1830's, 1860's & 1890's.

If I can be of any further assistance please let me know.

Tom Brown

From: [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: Mott Token
Date: Mon, 28 Sep 2009 12:05:03 -0400
To: [REDACTED]

Dear Tom,

This is very interesting. Do you happen to have a example of the James S. Mott watch paper stating the business was established in 1789. If so, I could see that it would be published in the Colonial Newsletter, as this would be of interest to numismatists.

All best,

Lou Jordan

Director of Special Collections
 102 Hesburgh Library
 University of Notre Dame
 Notre Dame, IN 46556

Tel: 574-631-3778
 Fax: 574-631-6308
 e-mail: [REDACTED]

Visit our departmental homepage at:
<http://www.rarebooks.nd.edu/>

On Sep 25, 2009, at 2:35 PM, THOMAS BROWN wrote:

I am a watch collector & while doing some research on a watch I was researching the watchmaker Jordon & son James Mott. I ran across your web page about the Mott token.

In just scanning your page I notice there seems to be a question about when Jordon Mott went into business. The watch I am researching was repaired at some point in the early 1800's by James Mott. Back then watchmakers would put watch papers in the back of the case for repair notes & as advertisement for their work. One of the watch papers was marked as James S. Mott son of Jordon Mott, it shows the business established in 1789.

I don't know if you are interested in this or not but I thought I would pass it on to you.

Please contact me if you have further questions.

Tom Brown





Same as p. 374
meze

Eric